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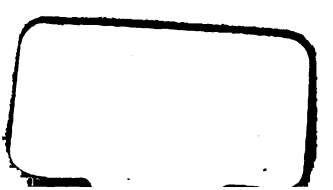

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Philadelphia

MISCELLANIES

OF THE

Philobiblon Society.

VOL. XV.

Quia vero de Librorum amore principaliter disseruit, placuit nobis, more veterum Latinorum, ipsum Greeco vocabulo Philobiblon amabiliter nuncupare.

Richard de Bury.

LONDON:

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CONTENTS.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE PHILOBIBLON SOCIETY.

1. His Royal Highneſs the Duke of Albany. In Memoriam. 18 pp.
Lord Houghton.

2. Edward Cheney. In Memoriam. 18 pp.
Lord Houghton.

3. Henry A. Bright. In Memoriam. 26 pp.
Lord Houghton.

4. Biſhop Cranmer's Recantacyons. 114 pp.
Communicated by the Earl of Dufferin.

5. Monckton Papers. 212 pp.
Communicated by Lord Houghton.

6. Unpubliſhed Letters from Samuel Taylor Coleridge to the Rev. John Prior Eſtlin. 117 pp.
Communicated by Henry A. Bright.

7. Letters written by Mr. Sydney Smith. 25 pp.
Communicated by Edward Cheney.

8. A Viſit to Paris in 1855. By Charles Greville. 21 pp.
Communicated by Henry Reeve.

9. Valedictory. 7 pp. *Lord Houghton.*

Philobiblon Society.

1884.

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HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE LEOPOLD, DUKE OF ALBANY.

IN MEMORIAM.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE LEOPOLD, DUKE OF ALBANY.

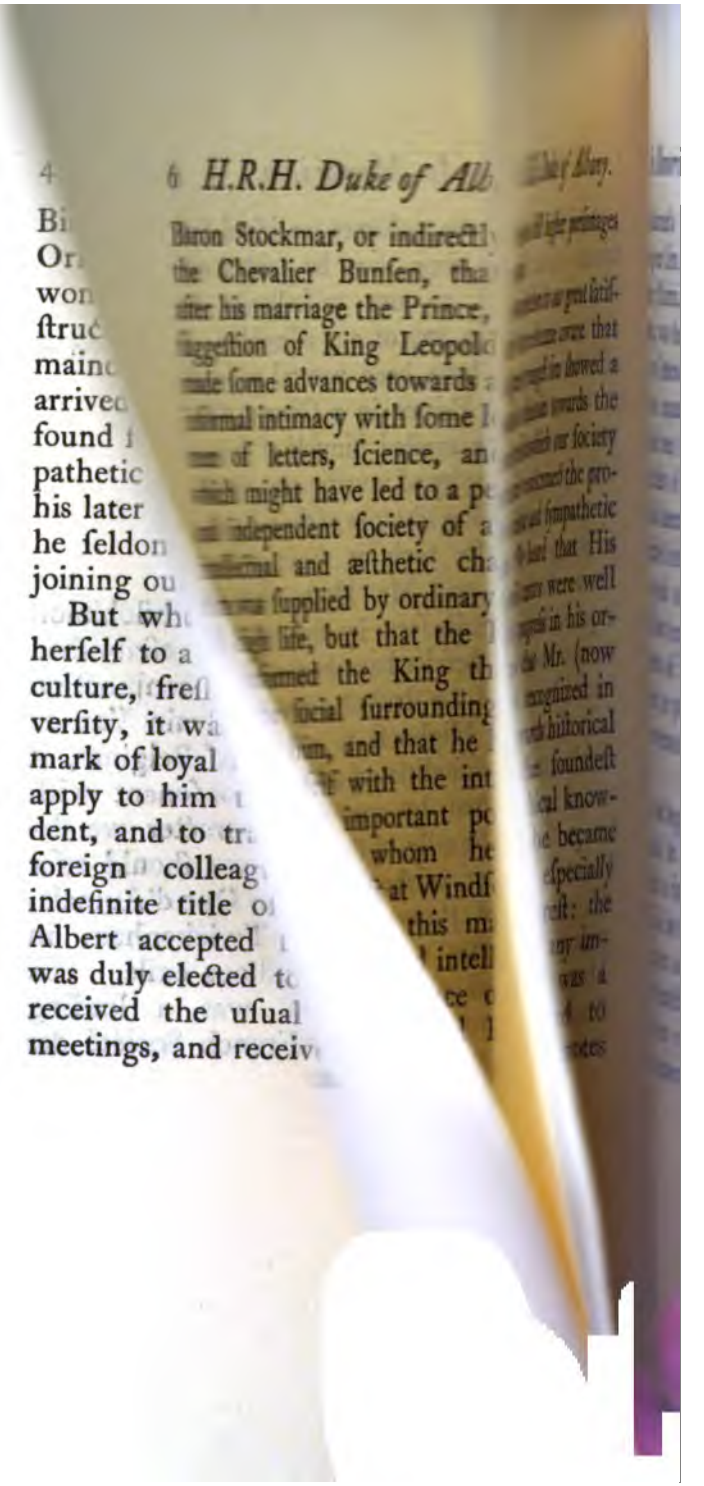
In Memoriam.

WHEN the Philobiblon Society was eſtabliſhed by myſelf in conjunction with M. Sylvain Van de Weyer, the Miniſter of Belgium, it was thought moſt conſonant with the international character we deſired to give it that we ſhould offer the Preſidency to the Duc d'Aumale, then reſiding at Twickenham in ſumptuous and ſtudious exile. His Royal Highneſs was a leading member of the French Société des

Bibliophiles, had already brought to Orleans Houſe a portion of his wonderful library, and was conſtructing a receptacle for the remainder, which ſoon afterwards arrived in England. In him we found for many years a moſt ſympapathetic and hoſpitable head, and in his later viſits to his Engliſh eſtates, he ſeldom miſſes an opportunity of joining our gatherings.

But when our Sovereign allied herſelf to a Prince of diſtinguiſhed culture, freſh from a German univerſity, it was only becoming, as a mark of loyal reſpect, that we ſhould apply to him to become our Preſident, and to transfer to our valued foreign colleague the ſomewhat indefinite title of Patron. Prince Albert accepted the propoſal, and was duly elected to the dignity; he received the uſual notices of our meetings, and received and acknow-

ledged the volumes we iſſued from time to time, but he neither contributed to our miſcellanies, nor joined in any of our aſſemblies. It would have been natural to ſo cultured a Prince in a German Court to have availed himſelf of ſuch an opportunity of inveſtigating the moſt intereſting libraries of the metropolis, eſpecially ſuch as thoſe of Baron Heath and Mr. Huth, which had been little ſeen by the public. It would beſides have been within the rules of the ſtricteſt etiquette for His Royal Highneſs to have accepted the hoſpitalities of a French Prince connected by marriage with our Royal Family, of the Belgian Family Miniſter, of the Duke of Hamilton, of Lord Powys, or of other of our colleagues with whom he had a perſonal acquaintance. For myſelf I was not ſurpriſed at this abſtention, for I had heard, either directly from



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Baron Stockmar, or indirectly from the Chevalier Bunſen, that ſoon after his marriage the Prince, at the ſuggeſtion of King Leopold, had made ſome advances towards a more informal intimacy with ſome leading men of letters, ſcience, and art, which might have led to a perſonal and independent ſociety of a more intellectual and æſthetic character than was ſupplied by ordinary Engliſh high life, but that the Prince had informed the King that he found the ſocial ſurroundings too ſtrong for him, and that he had to content himſelf with the intimacy of the various important political perſonages with whom he was brought into contact at Windſor and Balmoral. However this may be, we had not the ſocial and intellectual ſatisfaction of the preſence of the thoughtful and cultivated Prince Conſort.

After the domeſtic and national calamity of His Royal Highneſs's death, our preſidency remained in abeyance; for, although the Prince of Wales developed a general intereſt in many intellectual directions, it was not known that he ſhowed any ſuch eſpecial care for books as books, as would have authorized our Society to occupy his time and attention. He was not therefore aſked to occupy his father's place, but any of our articles on ſubjects likely to intereſt His Royal Highneſs were regularly ſent to him. He particularly thanked me for our memoir of that almoſt unintelligible hiſtorical perſonage his great-great-grandfather Frederick, Prince of Wales, and for the portion we were allowed to print of the amuſing diary of Lady Harcourt, which we ſhould have been very glad to have given in its integrity, had the family to whom it

belongs and ſtill higher perſonages permitted.

It was therefore to our great ſatiſfaction that we became aware that the Queen's youngeſt ſon ſhowed a remarkable inclination towards the taſtes and purſuits which our ſociety repreſents, and we welcomed the promiſe of ſo ſuitable and ſympathetic a Preſident. We heard that His Royal Highneſs's tutors were well ſatisfied with his progreſs in his ordinary ſtudies, and that Mr. (now Canon) Duckworth recognized in him a decided bias towards hiſtorical enquiry, which is the ſoundeſt foundation of bibliographical knowledge. As he grew up he became eager to collect books, eſpecially thoſe of any perſonal intereſt: the firſt of this nature and of any importance that he acquired was a Horace which had belonged to Martin Luther, with marginal notes

in the Reformer's handwriting, which was given him by Mr. (now Sir Theodore) Martin, who, beſides Dean Stanley, was the only recognized man of letters with whom he came into immediate contact. The Dean had been early attracted by the character of the Prince's mind and his literary inclinations, and had deſcribed him in a letter to a lady as a youth who in diſtant times would have become a Prince-Cardinal, patron of letters, with a ſplendid library, or poſſibly, under a peaceful government, a Prince-Miniſter.

When he had begun to learn the value of books, he often lamented that with ſuch a fortune as he was likely to poſſeſs, he did not ſee how he was to acquire any of great rarity or firſt-rate intereſt, and his valued friend of many years, Sir Robert Collins, remembers the long ſearch

they made through London for any folio of Shakeſpeare that might come within the Prince's means.

Not being an Oxford man myſelf, I can add nothing to the intereſting monograph of Mr. F. Myers in the "Fortnightly Review" of May, 1884, in which the Prince's ſtudies, habits, and relations with the choiceſt ſociety of the place, are amply deſcribed. Eſpecial reference is there made to his affectionate and reverential intercourſe with the great maſter of letters and art, Mr. Ruſkin, and thus, when I undertook this ſlight obituary notice, I applied to Mr. Ruſkin for aſſiſtance, but unfortunately in vain. He anſwered :—

"In their proper place, in ſpeaking of the Oxford Schools or any other of my attempts in education, I may expreſs the thanks due to the Prince for his perſonal kindneſs to me. But I do not think it

"would be on my part becoming "either to uſe his name with the "apparent view of doing honour to "myſelf, or to preſent to the Eng- "liſh public, as if of importance to "their eſtimate of him, the few "incidents of the hours he could "ſpare to me."

I repreſented, but without ſucceſs, to Mr. Ruſkin that this memorial was of a private nature. There is no doubt that a character of the Prince, ſomewhat after the manner of St. Simon, by Mr. Ruſkin, would be a moſt valuable addition to the private hiſtory of the Royal Family.

Prince Leopold ſoon began to be connected with the foundation and organization of charitable inſtitutions, both in London and in the provinces. I met him at Sheffield on the occaſion of the eſtabliſhment of the Firth Inſtitution, and on my expreſſing my ſurpriſe that having attained the

requiſite age he had not been made a member of the Houſe of Lords, and my hope that he would ſoon take an active part in its proceedings, he ſaid he did not know the cauſe of the delay, which I ſuſpect was connected with his ſtate of health, and added humorouſly, "I tell "them, if they put it off much "longer, I ſhall ſtand for a Liberal "conſtituency."

Again, later, when I viſited him at Claremont, and told him of my intereſt in the place, from the circumſtance that it had once belonged to my grandfather Lord Galway, and that my mother had been born there, he ſaid gravely, "I am very glad to "hear of anybody having been born "here. The place is haunted with "death; there is a tragedy in every "room."

As Preſident of the Newſpaper Preſs Fund, I was glad to induce

the Duke of Albany to take the chair at our anniverſary of 1883, where he ſucceſsfully made his *début* as Chairman. Sir R. Collins writes to me that his ſpeeches were very carefully prepared, and learned by heart, but that he occaſionally altered them in utterance, without damage to their ſtructure. In his Press-Fund ſpeech he alluded to the ſpecial correſpondents as "men of "our race who one likes to know are "always preſent when hiſtory is in "the making," and ſpoke with much delicacy of thoſe writers of ſocial journaliſm who, in the ſtruggle of competition, and in the haſte of compoſition, may be tempted into uncandid report and the infliction of needleſs pain.

His laſt ſpeech was delivered on the occaſion of a Memorial to the late Archbiſhop of Canterbury. I am glad to record a paſſage of it,

which ſeems to me to expreſs Prince Leopold's ideal of life. After ſpeaking of Archbiſhop Tait as a high-minded dignitary and indefatigable worker, he ſays, "Our Engliſh hiſ-"tory, which records ſo many "heroes of duty, can ſcarcely point "to any purer inſtance of the ſingle-"mindedneſs which forgets ſelf in "great public objects, or of the "conſcientiouſneſs which makes a "man refuſe, under any preſſure of "temptation or wearineſs, to do leſs "than his utmoſt, or to be leſs than "his beſt."

The Prince joined our Society in 1882, and twice took part in our meetings: once at my houſe, where he met the Duc d'Aumale and ſome of our leading members. After dinner I remember the enterprizing book-ſeller, Mr. Quaritch, ſaluting the great French bibliophile with, "I have "confronted your Royal Highneſs in

"every book ſale-room in Europe, "with various reſults of victory and "defeat." The other occaſion was on June 23rd, 1883, at Mr. Hucks Gibbs's beautiful villa in the Regent's Park.

I was in Egypt in the ſpring of 1884, and was projecting a letter to Claremont to aſk whether it would be agreeable to his Royal Highneſs to receive our Society there ſome day in the approaching ſummer, when the Eaſter feſtivities of the Engliſh colony at Cairo were arreſted by a telegram announcing the death of the Duke of Albany, which took place on the 29th of March, after a brief ſpring holiday on the Riviera, where he paſſed away, to the irreparable loſs of a wife who had known barely two years of cloudleſs married life, of an infant daughter, and of a ſon yet unborn, adding one more to the ſorrows of our much-tried

Queen, to whom he had been a child of many cares, leaving ſincere regrets with many affectionate friends, and a tender and reſpectful memory with the Engliſh people.

I have not inſiſted on the continuous bad health which caſt a gloom over this young life, but I am glad to ſubjoin the touching lines of the late Dean Stanley, inſpired by this reflection, which I believe are little known.

THE UNTRAVELLED TRAVELLER.

By A. P. S.

(*Firſt printed in March*, 1875. *Reprinted, March*, 1884.)

"When brothers part for manhood's race,"
And gladly ſeek from year to year,
From ſcene to ſcene, from place to place,
The wonders of each opening ſphere,
Is there no venturous path in ſtore,
To undiſcovered haunt or ſhore,
For him whom Fate forbade to roam,
The untravelled traveller at home?

Yes, gallant youth! What though to thee
  Nor Egypt's ſands, nor Ruſſia's ſnows,
Nor Grecian iſle, nor tropic ſea,
  Nor Weſtern worlds, their wealth diſcloſe?
Thy wanderings have been vaſter far
Than midnight ſun or ſouthern ſtar;
And thou, too, haſt thy trophies won,
Of toils achieved, and exploits done.

For thrice thy weary feet have trod
  The pathway to the realms of Death;
And leaning on the hand of God,
  With halting ſtep, and panting breath,
Thrice from the edge of that dead bourn,
From which no travellers return,
Thou haſt, like him who roſe at Nain,
Come back to life and light again.

Each winding of that mournful way,
  Each inlet of that ſhadowy ſhore,
Thro' reſtleſs night and tedious day
  'Twas thine to fathom and explore,
Thro' hairbreadth 'ſcapes and ſhocks as rude
As e'er are met in fire or flood,
Thou, in thy ſolitary ſtrife,
Haſt borne aloft thy charmed life.

Yet in this pilgrimage of ill
  Sweet tracts and iſles of peace were thine—
Dear watchful friends, ſtrong gentle ſkill,
  Conſoling words of Love Divine,

A Royal mother's ceaſeleſs care,
A nation's ſympathizing prayer,
The Everlaſting Arms beneath
That lighten'd even the load of death.

Thoſe long deſcents, that upward climb,
  Shall give an inward ſtrength and force,
Breath'd as by Alpine heights ſublime
  Through all thy dark and perilous courſe,
Not Afric's ſwamps nor Biſcay's wave
Demand a heart more firm and brave,
Than may for thee be borne and bred,
Even on thy ſick and lonely bed.

And ſtill as months and years roll by
  A world-wide proſpect ſhall unfold—
The realm of art, the poet's ſky,
  The land of wiſdom's pureſt gold.
Theſe ſhalt thou traverſe, to and fro,
In ſearch of theſe thy heart ſhall glow,
And many a ſtraggler ſhall be led,
To follow in thine onward tread.

"Haſt Thou, O Father, dear and true,
  "One bleſſing only—none for me?
"Bleſs, O my Father, bleſs me too,
  "Out of Thy boundleſs charity."
Reſt, troubled ſpirit, calmly reſt:
He bleſſes, and thou ſhalt be bleſt;
And from thy hard-wrought happineſs
Thou wilt the world around thee bleſs.

February 12, 1875.

EDWARD CHENEY.

IN MEMORIAM.

in action and thought, whether right or wrong, combined with ſtrong and narrow political opinions, encouraged the faſtidiouſneſs in general commerce with mankind, which became their peculiar and not moſt amiable characteriſtic, and which, if it had not been modified by a capacity for friendſhip and very decided individual ſympathies, might have made them ſelfiſh and even moroſe in their relations with the world; this fortunate diſpoſition has been admirably characterized to me by a lady who lived in continual intimacy with both to the laſt, "their very friendſhips were "prejudices." It would be difficult to exaggerate the comfort and advantage that each muſt have derived from the ſimilarity of their taſtes and accompliſhments, and if this double life did not promote a diſinclination to marriage, it certainly diminiſhed the ſenſe of the lonelineſs of bache-

lorhood.[1] They were the ſons of General Cheney, long eſtabliſhed at Badger Hall in Shropſhire, and anceſtrally connected with families of the moſt various orthographies in ſeveral other counties.[2] They had the ordinary education of Engliſh gentlemen, and went—Henry, the elder, to Oriel College, Oxford, and Edward, the younger, to Sandhurſt, to ſtudy for the army. Henry applied himſelf to the ordinary ſtudies of the place, and would, in all probability, have taken a good de-

[1] While I am writing this I cannot help recording how ſtrongly the diſſolution of a ſimilar bond of perſiſtent fraternity is brought before my mind by the ſudden death of the diſtinguiſhed diplomatiſt, Lord Ampthill, and the deſolation of his brothers the Duke of Bedford and Lord Arthur Ruſſell.

[2] There is an elaborate notice of the Cheney family reprinted by Pickburn, Aylesbury, from the reports of the Architectural and Archæological Society for the County of Buckingham.

gree had not the ſudden death of his father, in 1820, and the ſucceſſion to the eſtate, inclined him to leave the Univerſity and accompany his mother to Italy. Edward, our Philobiblon colleague, paſſed from Sandhurſt into the army and bought a commiſſion in a regiment ordered to the Eaſt Indies. After paſſing a few years of inactive ſervice in India, Edward Cheney exchanged into a regiment unattached. Anyone who became acquainted with his character and temperament will underſtand how diſtaſteful to him muſt have been the habits of the meſs-room and the details of military life, and with what delight he muſt have rejoined his family in Italy. He ſeems, at firſt, to have gone to Naples, where he found a remarkable group of his countrymen carrying out the taſtes and ſtudies of the Dilettanti Society, which, in the preceding generation,

had produced thoſe fine works, the Ionian Antiquities and Stuart's Athens, and procured the tranſport to England of ſeveral of the moſt intereſting collections of ancient ſculpture. Of theſe, at that time, the moſt prominent was Sir William Gell, who had come there originally in the houſehold of the unfortunate Caroline of Brunſwick, and who had won the eſteem of the claſſical world as the firſt delineator of the lately reſuſcitated Pompeii, and as the accurate and lucid traveller who has furniſhed the materials for every ſubſequent guide of Hellenic explorers. With him were Dodwell, the inveſtigator of Pelaſgic and Cyclopean Monuments, and Keppel Craven, the accompliſhed ſon of the Margravine of Anſpach.

This reſidence at Naples is chiefly remarkable in Edward Cheney's biography as the period of the production of his only work of any length,

the novel of "Malvagna, or the Evil Eye," publiſhed by Bentley, in 1838, and which did not attract public attention, nor, indeed, did it deſerve to do ſo. The ſcene is laid in Sicily and its ultra-romanticiſm of plot and dark delineations of character remind the novel-reader of the Radcliffian period which had lately expired. The myſtery of its Caſtles recalls thoſe of "Udolfo" and "Otranto," and the atrocities of certain, and eſpecially, eccleſiaſtical perſonages, competes with thoſe of the "Italian." Suffice to ſay that the chief villain is an Archbiſhop, and the main intrigue his amour with his own niece, whom, however, he deſigns to marry by diſpenſation; the otherwiſe vulgar conduct of the ſtory is relieved by artiſtic deſcription of ſcenery and delicate indications of Sicilian manners, and it is intereſting to obſerve how the writer loſes no oppor-

tunity of depreciating the popular reſiſtance to the Bourbon government of the day, which ſupplies the chief intereſt of the narrative, and the patriotic aſpirations of his hero in whoſe failure and ſubmiſſion to the Auſtrian arms he rejoices, juſt as in later days he would have ſtigmatized and ridiculed the wondrous national ſpaſm of that ſame Sicily, which broke the bond of centuries, and initiated the independence of Italy.

This novel, however, has an incidental literary intereſt as a precurſor of that ſtrange deſtiny in the hiſtory of letters that has given the whole field of modern Italian fiction to Engliſh and American writers. There is no native noveliſt that has competed with the paſſion and pathos of Ouida's peaſant-life in "Signa" and "Paſcarel," or with the complications of national morals and manners in her "Friendſhip," and Mrs.

Minto Elliot's "Italians," with the wild imagination of Hawthorne, or the cultivated fancy of Marion Crawford. Still the grave figure of Manzoni ſtands in the diſtance the ſole repreſentative of the romance of that people that once ſupplied the whole drama of Europe with its inexhauſtible "novelle," and extended the Garden of Bocaccio to every ſcene of delicate luxury and feſtal enjoyment.

About the ſame time Henry Cheney appears to have written "Roſſano, a Neapolitan Story," privately printed in 1871, which illuſtrates the ſuperſtition more powerfully, and ſhows more conſtructive talent than "Malvagna." It is, however, with Rome that the Cheneys are eſpecially connected. At that time, although the majority of the Engliſh in Italy was compoſed of young men taking the Grand Tour, and of families ſeeking the

advantages of climate and ſcenery, and the intereſts of claſſical aſſociation; there were, beſides, certain ariſtocratic families who made uſe of the Cities as regular winter-reſidences, and eſtabliſhed themſelves in them as a home. Of theſe the moſt ſocial and hoſpitable at Rome was that of Lady Coventry, who occupied with her daughter, Lady Auguſta, the upper apartment of the Barbarini Palace, now for ſome years inhabited by the eminent American ſculptor, Mr. Story. It was there I firſt met Edward Cheney in 1834: it has to me a pathetic intereſt, that I met him for the laſt time under the roof of Lady Holland, the Lady Auguſta Coventry of thoſe days, after near fifty years of their unbroken companionſhip and undiminiſhed friendſhip. Beſides the habitual reſidents there were ſeveral noble families who made a certain

round of the Italian cities, leaving England each year about the ſame period, arriving often on the ſame day at the hotels awaiting them, inſpecting the well-known and familiar pictures, and travelling onwards in their ſhut and open carriages, appropriate to all weathers, drawn by innumerable poſters, preceded by the accompliſhed courier, who paid everything and abſtracted what he pleaſed, and followed by the commodious and now forgotten *fourgon* laden with books, plate, and ſometimes furniture, till they reached their deſtined apartment, with its bright wooden fires and redecorated walls.[1] Among theſe were Lord Northampton and his juvenile daughter, now Lady Marian Alford, and Lord Bever-

[1] Mr. Beckford, of Fonthill, always travelled with two or three firſt-claſs pictures, ſometimes with his Raphael, to decorate his carriage and beguile the journey.

ley, afterwards 5th Duke of Northumberland, with both of whom the Cheneys maintained a lifelong friendſhip, and other perſons of leſs ſtation, but perhaps not leſs notoriety, among whom I would for the ſatisfaction of my own recollections record the widow of Sir Humphry Davy, the Mrs. Apreece of Walter Scott's Edinburgh circle, and ſo generally known for her good company and Italian Malapropiſm. Nor were the Cheneys leſs welcome in the great Roman houſes, whoſe formality and ſimplicity of entertainment rather attracted than repelled them; indeed their chief and moſt conſtant companion was Don Michele Caetani, a man who combined the ſubtle wit, gaiety, and liberty of intellect of the days of Poggio, with the firmneſs and ſeverity of character that diſtinguiſhed the old conquerors of the world. This he exhibited

during all the later ſtruggles of his country, and only paſſed away a few years ago, as Duca di Sermoneta, amid the reſpectful regrets of the Roman people. He was twice married to Engliſhwomen, and his laſt wife, the niece of the late and couſin of the preſent Duke of Portland, ſurvives him.

It was ſomewhat later that the Cheneys affected the reſidence of Venice, which became to Edward at leaſt a homeſtead of antiquity and art. There he contracted cloſe and laſting intimacy with Mr. Rawdon Brown, the interpreter of the chronicle of Marin Sanuto and other records that have thrown ſo much light on dark periods of hiſtory, and who has only juſt paſſed away amid the regrets of all true antiquarians and the affectionate recollections of the multitude of his countrymen to whom he made Venice inſtructive and delightful.

In mature life, after their return to England, the Cheneys contributed frequently to the "Quarterly "Review," where their articles are recognizable both by the choice and treatment of their ſubjects. They never wrote except on matters which they underſtood, and among theſe Italian Art and Hiſtory are naturally prominent, as for example in the exhauſtive article on Denniſtoun's "Dukes of Urbino," which not only ſkilfully analyſes but adds largely to the value of that remarkable work. The reader of theſe comments and criticiſms can never forget that he is in the preſence of that generation of Engliſhmen who regarded Italy as a muſeum created and preſerved for their pleaſure and edification, and which they were grateful to have ſuſtained for their uſe by Auſtria or any other foreign power that could ſuppreſs the more vulgar

influences of local politics and the diſorders that might diſturb the repoſe of ages and the ſolemnities of ancient faith.

The contributions of Edward Cheney to our Miſcellanies are of conſiderable value; they include papers connected with the origin of the Bonapartes which are real additions to the earlier hiſtories of the Imperial Family, and, deſcending to later times, there is a letter reſpecting the marriage of Jerome Bonaparte and Mrs. Paterſon, which the preſent Prince Jerome thought ſo important that he ſent a ſpecial meſſenger to this country with a requeſt to me to allow him to inſpect and copy it. Our fourteenth volume alſo contains a moſt intereſting article by him of original documents connected with painters and their pictures in the 16th century, among others the Aſſumption of Titian, which was fortu-

nately overlooked by the French in 1796, and thus eſcaped the chances of a calamitous reſtoration which befell Raffaelle's Perla and Spaſimo. In referring to the deſtruction of the St. Peter Martyr which took place in July, 1867, during Edward Cheney's reſidence at Venice, and which is the more to be regretted as no adequate copy ſeems to exiſt,—he exculpates the guardian monks of any culpable deſign, as was ſtrongly ſuſpected. To this is appended the curious examination of Paolo Veroneſe by the Inquiſition on the indecorum of his treatment of the "cena," in which he introduces a dog and a dwarf, a parrot, and ſome Germans, which ſtill remain, though then and there condemned as ſacrilegious, and a man with a bleeding noſe who was retrenched. The brothers were both good artiſts in water-colours, Henry the beſt, in the

manner of De Wint; they never exhibited except in amateur collections, where they took high rank: moſt of their friends, including myſelf, poſſeſs ſome of theſe intereſting memorials.

The brothers cloſed their peaceful and pleaſant lives, Henry in December, 1866, Edward in April, 1884. The liſt of our Society may include profounder ſcholars and men of larger views and more general ſympathies, but no better friend or more conſcientious and accompliſhed Engliſh gentleman than Edward Cheney.

HENRY BRIGHT.

IN MEMORIAM.

HENRY BRIGHT.

In Memoriam.

HENRY Bright belonged on his father's and mother's ſide to that ariſtocracy of commerce and finance which is generated by individual induſtry, probity, and enterpriſe in our great ſeaboard cities. The Brights of Briſtol and the Heywoods of Liverpool are as diſtinctive in their own claſs and ſociety as the Percys and Wentworths in another order. It is the habit of ſuch families to give their ſons the ordinary liberal education of Engliſh gentlemen before inducting them into the profeſſional ſtatus in which they are deſ-

tined to continue and increaſe the traditional wealth and dignity of the name. The combination of ſuch purſuits with intellectual aſpirations, or even with literary taſtes, is probably of as frequent occurrence as, and no more than, in the other claſs in which the public School and Univerſity are followed by more active and exciting occupations.

In Liverpool, indeed, at the period of Bright's youth, the traditions of the high literary poſition of William Roſcoe and of Shepherd, the biographer of Poggio, had not wholly died away, and that efflorescence of letters in the activities of commercial and profeſſional life had occurred in that particular ſection of religious thought to which his relatives had traditionally adhered, and to which they had contributed the diſtinguiſhed name of Oliver Heywood.

Henry Bright was ſent to Rugby

ſchool in the ſummer after the death of its great pedagogue; he was placed in the ſchool houſe under the immediate care of Dr. Tait, his accompliſhed and amiable ſucceſſor, of whom Bright ſoon became a favourite pupil, and with whom he cemented a friendſhip that endured during all that eminent prelate's ſucceſsful career. It was one of the chief ſatisfactions of Henry Bright's later years to find himſelf a frequent and welcome gueſt at Lambeth Palace. Cotton, afterwards Archbiſhop of Calcutta, was his private tutor.

Although the ſpecial ſtudies of the Univerſity of Cambridge did not attract Henry Bright, he availed himſelf to the full, during his reſidence at Trinity College, of all the collateral advantages of univerſity life, including the Union Society, of which he became one of the officers, and where he was a graceful and

popular ſpeaker. His radiant and genial nature eſpecially appreciated the happineſs of adoleſcent friendſhips, among which that of Mr. James Payn, the agreeable and abundant noveliſt, was one of the moſt valued and permanent.

After leaving Cambridge he travelled in America, where he became intimate with all the moſt eminent names of the national literature, and in 1853 he went into his father's office, the firm of Gibbs, Bright and Co., ſo prominent in the South-American trade and the eſtabliſhment of direct intercourſe with Auſtralia; of this houſe he ſome years later became a partner. As his literary taſtes developed, it was natural that thoſe around him, wholly abſorbed in commercial purſuits, ſhould regard him as comparatively indifferent to practical buſineſs; but, as a matter of fact, he ſcrupulouſly avoided

making theſe extraneous occupations any excuſe for a relaxation of official duty, and the value of his literary faculties in the letter-writing branch of the office was duly appreciated. His connection with the ſhipping intereſt naturally took a philanthropic aſpect, and thus he was the founder and chief adminiſtrator of that moſt uſeful charity the Branch Sailor's Home at the North End, and remained its preſident till 1877.

The terrible abuſes in the mercantile marine between Liverpool and the United States were powerfully brought by him before the public in a letter to his friend Mr. Whitbread, under the name of "A Liverpool "Merchant," with the characteriſtic motto, "La juſtice en pleine mer! "vous moquez vous des gens?"—Scapin. It was this complicated queſtion of international law which I brought before the Houſe of Com-

mons in 1859, when, in humble imitation of Mr. Burke's revolutionary dagger, I took down to the Houſe and exhibited a knuckleduſter uſed by one of the incriminated captains for purpoſes of manſlaughter or mutilation, with which Bright had ſupplied me. In the abſence of the Prime Miniſter, Sir George Cornewall Lewis agreed to my motion for an Addreſs to the Crown, and in the following Seſſion, informed the Houſe that he and Mr. Dallas, the Miniſter of the United States, had agreed to the draft of a convention on the ſubject. Then the American Civil War broke out, and, to uſe Mr. Henry Bright's words, "in "the great iſſues of that terrible "conflict, it was hopeleſs to urge "the duty of affording adequate "protection to a few merchant ſea-"men, and of inflicting adequate "puniſhment for occaſional violences

"at ſea." I believe this abuſe is at preſent conſiderably abated. In 1853 he publiſhed a pamphlet entitled "Free blacks and ſlaves: would im-"mediate Abolition be a bleſſing?" a queſtion he decided in the negative, from the view that legiſlative freedom would be nugatory as long as it remained unſanctioned by public opinion; a natural judgment enough, but controverted by the providential courſe of events.

About this time he contributed to the "Weſtminſter Review" the two articles on Thomas Moore and De Quincey which he regarded as his firſt ſerious attempt at literary compoſition; he alſo wrote in "Fraſer's "Magazine" under the ſignature of a "Cambridge Man," and ſoon after became a frequent contributor to the "Examiner" and "Pall Mall "Gazette." In the "Inquirer" he took up the more orthodox ſide

of the Unitarian creed, and wrote a poem entitled "The Church's "Prayer," the refrain of which, "To the Father through the Son," hardly accords with the ordinary Arian formula. His intimate relations with Mr. Gaſkell, the eminent Unitarian miniſter of Mancheſter, and his diſtinguiſhed wife, the noveliſt and biographer of Charlotte Brontë, were of a ſomewhat late date, and continued to the end. He privately printed, in 1871, "Some "Account of the Glen Riddell MSS. "of Burns' Poems," which it is intereſting to connect with Roſcoe's indignant verſes addreſſed to Scotland on the death of the great peaſant-poet, which occurred ſoon after the expectation of receiving him as a gueſt at Allerton Hall.

As ſoon as his circumſtances permitted, Mr. H. Bright had taken to himſelf a moſt ſuitable partner for

life, literally for ſickneſs and health, in the ſiſter of Mr. Yates Thompſon, the colleague of Mr. Gladſtone in his unſucceſsful candidature for the county, and had begun the erection of a modeſt and elegant homeſtead at Aſhfield, near Liverpool, which in its literary ſurroundings and reception of eminent perſonages, Engliſh and American, became a worthy ſucceſſor of the Birchfield and Allerton Hall of William Roſcoe.

There is no need to remind thoſe who have partaken of that hoſpitality of its unaffected culture and graceful gaiety, but I gladly take advantage of Mr. Julian Hawthorne's recently publiſhed Life of his Father to repeat his ſenſe of the value of the relation between Henry Bright and the author of the "Scarlet Letter," who by that ſingular proceſs of reparation in the United States of their ſyſtematic neglect of men of

letters by means of diplomatic and conſular appointments, had been placed in the rough and unſuitable poſt of Conſul at Liverpool, and where the happy accident of the acquaintance of Henry Bright and his relatives the Heywood family may be ſaid to have been his only congenial aſſociation. Nathaniel Hawthorne ſhall expreſs this in his own words: "Bright was the "illumination of my duſky little "apartment as often as he made his "appearance there." "Mr. Bright "ſeldom uſed to ſit down, but ſtood "erect on the hearth-rug; tall, "ſlender, good-humoured, laughing, "voluble; with his Engliſh eye-"glaſs, his Engliſh ſpeech, and his "Engliſh prejudices; arguing, re-"monſtrating, aſſerting, contradict-"ing,—certainly one of the moſt "delightful, and delightfully Engliſh "Engliſhmen that ever lived."

And Hawthorne would launch at him ſuch appalling and unſparing home truths of democracy and republicaniſm as would utterly have choked and ſmothered any other ſubject of her Majeſty; but they only ſerved to make Mr. Bright laugh, and declare that it was impoſſible anybody ſhould ſeriouſly entertain ſuch opinions. I doubt, continues Mr. Julian Hawthorne, if the American Conſul ever expreſſed himſelf to anyone elſe ſo forcibly, explicitly, and fluently as he did to this Engliſh friend; and the conſequence of it all was that they never could ſee enough of each other. On the eve of Hawthorne's departure from England he gave his friend his laſt and beſt proof of his confidence, by delivering his Engliſh Journals into his keeping with the accompanying note.

"Dear Mr. Bright,—Here are

"theſe Journals. If unreclaimed by "myſelf, or by my heirs or aſſigns, "I conſent to your breaking the "ſeals in the year 1900, not a day "ſooner. By that time, probably, "England will be a minor republic "under the protection of the United "States. If my countrymen of "that day partake in the leaſt of "my feelings, they will treat you "generouſly.

"Your friend, Nath. Hawthorne."

His articles in the "Athenæum" were ſo numerous and ſo much eſteemed by its editors that certain ſubjects ſeemed to be reſerved for his criticiſm, and he became almoſt one of the recognized ſtaff of the journal.

It was rather by accident than by any natural inclination or familiar ſtudy that Mr. Bright produced the book by which he is beſt known, and which is, I believe, deſtined to a place in the domeſtic literature of

this country. He often alluded to it in this ſenſe, ſaying he took very little intereſt in the ſcience of botany, and much as he loved flowers, there were other objects of nature and art which he cared for as much or more. He had made the chance acquaintance of the editor of the "Gardener's Chronicle," and had begun in 1873 to ſend him ſome perſonal obſervations of his own ſmall domain interſperſed with poetical alluſions. Theſe ſo much attracted attention that he was induced to collect them and print off fifty copies for private diſtribution, and was further perſuaded to publiſh them in 1879, under the title of "A Year in a "Lancaſhire Garden." The modeſty of this ſmall volume correſponds with the dimenſions of the locality it deſcribes. The garden compriſes from three to four acres, and the walled portion to which the book is eſpe-

cially dedicated, about three-quarters of an acre. It was a ſource of great diverſion to Mr. Bright and his family, that after the book had attained a large circulation, not only neighbours, but ſtrangers from a diſtance, in conſiderable numbers, arrived to inſpect the inſignificant area from which they had derived ſo much pleaſure. It is only to be hoped they went away leſs diſappointed then thoſe occaſional foreign viſitors to Wakefield in Yorkſhire who come there with enthuſiaſtic enquiries about its amiable and familiar vicar. From this humble ſpace, however, Henry Bright had derived as much gratification and perhaps inſtruction as could be given by the moſt lordly pleaſaunces, and it is to this very reſtriction that the merit and, ſo to ſay, influence of the work is eſpecially due. The very abſence of anything like abſtruſe

botanical ſcience, or any but neceſſary phraſeology, no doubt adds to its charm, and diſtinguiſhes it from any other book with which I am familiar. The only claſſification in which I can place it, is ſide by ſide with Iſaac Walton and White's "Natural Hiſtory of Selborne." But what enſures a lengthened exiſtence to theſe pages is the combination of an almoſt peaſant-village ſimplicity, with an abundant Engliſh and claſſical culture which ſeems to me without parallel in literature. Thus the year begins with its Chriſtmas greenery, which he recommends ſhould be mainly of ivy, and with the cryſanthemum, to which he attributes theſe eſpecial merits: "It "comes in the ſhorteſt and darkeſt "days, it blows abundantly in the "ſmoke of the largeſt cities, and it "laſts longer than any other flower "when cut and put in water." He

paſſes on to January the 20th, St. Agnes' Eve, that year ſoft and almoſt warm, contraſting with that of Keats when

"The owl for all its feathers was a-cold,"

but confirming Tennyſon's firſt ſnowdrop lying on the boſom of the year by its appearance on the 18th of the month. In the early ſpring he recognizes the white violet as the Leucoion of the ancients, and thus vindicates Ovid in placing together the violet, the poppy, and the lily as ſuffering together in a ſnow ſtorm. He takes advantage of this opportunity to controvert Lord Stanhope's and Mr. Ruſkin's identification of the Greek Ion with the iris, and to confirm the authority of Pliny as abſolute on the flower that compoſed the Horatian wreath, and flavoured the *vinum violenteum.* In the ſummer pages of Roſe-lore, Mr.

Bright does not ſeem to have been familiar with the exhauſtive monograph on the roſe written by my Belgian colleague in the ſecretariat of this Society, Mons. Octave Delepierre, which would have ſupplied him with ſtill more material and alluſion, but contents himſelf with recording Hawthorne's—"pale "and bloody petals ſtrewn over the "Engliſh battle-fields"—and giving the prize of poems on the flower to the tender morality of Waller's "Go, "lovely Roſe."

As the year advances he writes, "The aſters have been very good: "many years have paſſed ſince I "found the wild aſter of America "growing on the hill-ſide of Con-"cord behind Hawthorne's houſe, "and was reminded of Emerſon's "lines:—

"'Chide me not, laborious band,
"'For the idle flowers I brought;

"'Every after in my hand
"'Goes home loaded with a thought.'"

On the cognate ſubject of ſun-dials in gardens, he adds to the mottoes that warn and the mottoes that conſole one adapted from Mrs. Browning:—

"See the ſhadow of the dial
"In the lot of every one,
"Marks the paſſing of the trial,
"Proves the preſence of the ſun."

I will conclude this ſhort analyſis of a book which I truſt my friend's poſterity will take good care is not let to fall out of popular circulation, by a ſuggeſtive paſſage, which ſeems to me at once tender and original.

"I never ſtay anywhere where "there is a garden, without bringing "back with me ſome one or more "ſhrubs as a remembrance of a "beautiful place or happy hours; "and, when I plant them, I faſten

" to them a label mentioning their " old home, and thus I am reminded, " now of a low houſe covered with " creepers and neſtling among the " hills of Wales (Clanbrogan, Mont- " gomeryſhire); now of a magnificent " caſtle with its pleaſaunce in the " north of Ireland (Lord Charle- " mont's); now of a great hall in " Scotland (Lord Minto's), where a " wild glen runs down paſt the " gardens to the woods; now of an " Engliſh abbey where the flowers " of to-day ſpring up among the " ruins of a thouſand years ago " (Wenlock Abbey)." (p. 93.)

"The Lancaſhire Garden" was followed by an article in the " Quarterly Review," reprinted in 1881 with ſome additions under the title of " The Engliſh Flower Gar- " den." In this he only alludes in paſſing to the grand horticultural and architectural ſhrubberies of

Nonſuch and Cobham, and to Lord Fairfax's garden at Nun Appleton glorified by Andrew Marvel, and after giving due honour to the landſcape gardening of Kent, Price, Knight, Gelpin, and Repton, proceeds to his main object, the reſtoration of the old walled Elizabethan garden, with all its varieties of familiar plants for every month, and the, if not abolition, at leaſt mitigation, of the monotonous bedding-out, with its bare ground till June, and its glare of flagrant colours in the hotteſt ſeaſon. This he ſeverely criticiſes in the large tapestried lawns, quoting how Mrs. Browning wrote of ſome carpets, where

> "Your foot
> "Dips deep in velvet roſes,"

and adding, "This may be well "enough; but who wants flower-"beds to look like carpets?"—But

it is in the ſmaller-villa gardens that the change is moſt diſaſtrous. The pleaſant bit of graſs, with its ſpecimen trees and fence of ſcented ſhrubs, is cut up, and Perdita's hot lavender, marigold, crown-imperial, and lily, on the ſunny ſide of the garden wall, are baniſhed to make way for red and yellow patches for the few ſummer months. This book too may keep its own in our domeſtic literature, although it wants the individuality of its predeceſſor.

In 1881 the ſymptoms of a pulmonary diſeaſe, which had already given Henry Bright's family ſome alarm, became ſo ſerious that it was decided he muſt ſpend the proximate winter in a milder climate; he thus went to the Riviera, where he found the congenial ſociety of Mr. Green, the hiſtorian of the Engliſh people, fighting, like himſelf, gallantly for life, and in the

exerciſe of his remarkable faculties, which endured to the very laſt. Bright ſurvived him, and left this fine ſonnet as a memorial of thoſe happy hours of companionſhip on the borders of the grave.

IN MEMORIAM J. R. GREEN

(*Buried at Mentone, March 9th*, 1883).

Far from the land whoſe tale he loved to tell,
Where never Engliſh oak its boughs may wave
Above that wind-ſwept, conſecrated grave,
He ſleeps alone. Yet may we not rebel,
For in that ſunny South 'tis ſurely well.
The olive ſpeaks of peace the victors have
When the night falleth, and the fight was brave,
And the tall cypreſs ſtands as ſentinel.

Yet his own England claims her ſhare of him,
For buried in the heart of many a friend
Lie fond regrets and tender memories,
And, when the effacing years make ſuch things dim,

Men yet unborn ſome thought of him will
blend
With thoughts of England and her people's
riſe.[1]

In 1883 I had the ſad ſatisfaction of ſolacing and diverting Henry Bright's exile at Cannes in company with the learned and kindly Lord Acton, in whoſe late acquaintance he found great delight. After ſome months of ſevere ſuffering, borne with ſingular cheerfulneſs, although embittered by the ſtrange and then apparently hopeleſs illneſs of a charming boy with whom he returned to England in the following ſpring. Before another winter came Henry Bright had paſſed away in his home amid his family and books, and had gone to his reſt beneath the wreaths of his own Lancaſhire garden.

[1] It appeared in the "Athenæum," March 17th, 1883.

NOTE.—Mr. Bright had no eſpecial taſtes for the curioſities in which our Society mainly delights, and which indeed he would never have had the means of acquiring, but he has left a charming library of readable books in fine condition. His collection of autographs was more remarkable. He eſpecially affected holographs of notable books. He poſſeſſed the manuſcripts of Southey's "Hiſtory of "Brazil," with preliminary volumes of collections illuſtrating that writer's method of compoſition. He alſo had acquired, mainly from the authors themſelves, the manuſcripts of the following notable novels:—

Hawthorne's "Marble Faun."
Godwin's "Fleetwood."
H. Martineau's "Deerbrook."
Mrs. Gaſkell's "Lois the Witch."
Trollope's "The Claverings."
L. E. L.'s "The Royal Marriage (a Story)."
Mary Shelley's "The Dream."
Theodore Hook's "The New King."

He frequently regretted that the manuſcripts of Walter Scott's novels uſually ranged at a price higher than he felt himſelf juſtified in giving. There is alſo a volume of American manuſcripts with autograph ſpecimens of every poet from Bryant to Lowell.

BISHOP CRANMER'S

RECANTACYONS.

PREFATORY.

I HAVE been fortunate in obtaining the aſſiſtance and authority of the eminent hiſtorical antiquarian, Mr. Gairdner, in editing the following tract.

It may not itſelf be of eſpecial rarity or importance, but everything is of intereſt that is connected with or throws any light on the character and ſtory of the moſt myſterious perſonage, and, with the exception of his Royal Maſter, the moſt influential factor in the origin and eſtabliſhment of the Britiſh Reformation. I have alſo to return my ſincere thanks to M. Leopold Deliſle, the learned librarian of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, for his permiſſion to print the manuſcript, and his intereſt in the work.

HOUGHTON.

PREFACE.

THE MS. from which the following treatiſe is printed is preſerved in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, and the following deſcription is given of it by M. Deliſle :—

"MS. latin 6056, porté ſous le "N° 10213 ſur l'inventaire général "de la Bibliothèque du Roi dreſſé en "1682.

"Volume en papier. 81 feuillets, "270 millimètres ſur 180. Ecriture "du xvi^e ſiècle, à longues lignes. "Au bas de la première page en "écriture du xvii^e ſiècle :—

"'This booke was founde in my "'houſe amongſt doctour Harpſ- "'feldes writinges. Will'm Carter.'

"Titre mis au haut du fol. 1: "'Cranmers Recantacyons'.

"Au fol. 38 v°:—'Reginaldi "'Poli cardinalis legati Apoſtolici "'epiſtola ad Thomam Cramerum "'qui Archiepiſcopalem ſedem Can- "'tuarienſis eccleſiæ tenens novam "'de ſacramento euchariſtiæ doc- "'trinam contra perpetuum Catho- "'licæ eccleſiæ conſenſum profeſſus "'eſt ac tradidit; qua epiſtola eum "'nec magiſtrum tanti myſterii, "'neque diſcipulum idoneum eſſe "'poſſe, ſimulque unde hic ejus "'error manavit oſtendit et ad pœni- "'tentiam adhortatur. R. P.'

"Au fol. 70:—'Epiſtola Cardi- "'nalis Poli.' Premiers mots de "cette lettre:—'Reverendiſſime et "'illuſtriſſime domine, idem nunc "'mihi uni venit in hoc ad te ſcri- "'bendi officio quod ſolet iis qui "'ære alieno obſtricti cum ad diem "'conſtitutum non ſolverint. . .'"

From this it would appear that the MS. was once in the poſſeſſion of Dr. Harpsfield, and was found among his papers after his death by William Carter, who is known to have been his ſervant and amanuenſis.* The queſtion naturally occurs, whether Harpsfield was the author of the treatiſe. But as he is mentioned by name in the treatiſe itſelf (p. 23), and the author does not ſpeak of himſelf inthe third perſon, we may diſmiſs that ſuppoſition. We may, however, affirm with certainty that it was written, if not by a friend, at leaſt by a contemporary of Harpſfield's, for the date of its compoſition can be fixed from internal evidence within very narrow limits; and that

* See Harpsfield's "Pretended Divorce of Henry VIII.," pp. 4, 6. After his maſter's impriſonment Carter became a printer of Catholic books, and at length ſuffered martyrdom in conſequence.

being ſo, it is not unnatural to expect that Harpsfield might have uſed it in ſome things as a ſource of information, as I ſhall ſhow preſently that there is ſome reaſon to believe that he did, in one inſtance, unleſs, indeed, as is quite poſſible, Harpsfield be the earlier writer of the two.

But firſt as regards the date of compoſition. The treatiſe itſelf ſhows that it was written in Mary's reign while John White was Biſhop of Wincheſter (p. 21)—in other words, between May, 1556, and November, 1558. Indeed, in all probability it was written in the year 1556, while the events recorded were ſtill recent; for the author ſays at the very beginning that he wrote as a matter of duty by command of ſomeone elſe, and it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe in that caſe he would not put off time in executing his commiſſion. It is not difficult to ima-

gine that his employer was Cardinal Pole, who, of courſe, was ſpecially intereſted in having it clearly ſhown that everything connected with the depoſition of his predeceſſor from the See of Canterbury, and his trial and his puniſhment as a heretic, was done in a regular and ſyſtematic manner. The author, moreover, as he diſtinctly tells us (p. 1), had perſonal knowledge of the facts to a conſiderable extent; and whatever we may think of his bias, he muſt be regarded as an original witneſs.

The value of this treatiſe, then, conſiſts in the fact that it is ſomewhat of the nature of an official record drawn up within the courſe of a few months, probably within a very few weeks, of the events to which it relates. The queſtion next ariſes with regard to its authorſhip, concerning which we have already ſeen that it was not the work of Harpsfield, the

author whoſe name would probably firſt ſuggeſt itſelf, even if we had not evidence that this treatiſe was found among his papers. I can only hazard a conjecture; but it appears to me that the ſtyle of the treatiſe, which is certainly rather artificial, is not unlike that of Harpsfield's friend Alan Cope, to judge by the only ſpecimen of his literary powers with which we are acquainted—the dedication of his *Syntaxis Hiſtoriæ Evangelicæ* to Viglius Zuichemius. Cope was a native of London, was elected Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1549, and was unanimouſly choſen ſenior proctor of the univerſity in 1558. He had ſtudied law at Oxford five years, but not liking the change in religion at the acceſſion of Elizabeth, fled abroad in 1560.* In 1566 he, being then abroad, pub-

* See Wood's "Ath. Ox.," i., 455, and Tanner's "Bibliotheca."

liſhed at Antwerp his friend Harpſfield's *Dialogi Sex contra ſummi pontificatus oppugnatores et pſeudomartyres;* and to ſhield Harpsfield, who remained in England, from reſponſibility, put his own name on the title-page. But that the truth might not for ever lie concealed, he obſcurely indicated it at the concluſion of the work by the myſterious capital letters: A. H. L. N. H. E V. E A. C., which thoſe acquainted with the ſecret could interpret to mean *Auctor Hujus Libri Nicolaus Harpesfeldus. Editit Vero Eum Alanus Copus.*

The facts connected with Cranmer's martyrdom are ſo well known from other ſources that little or nothing which is poſitively new will be found in the preſent tract. But it is a matter of ſome intereſt that we have here (p. 8) perhaps the earlieſt authority for the ſtory of Cranmer carrying his ſecond wife

about in a cheſt—a ſtory long diſcredited as an invention of Sanders, until ſome years ago Lord Acton pointed out that it was related by Harpsfield in his "Treatiſe on the "pretended Divorce between Henry "VIII. and Catharine of Aragon."* The fact may have been equally well known to Harpsfield and to Cope; if not, it would be difficult to ſay which of them received his information from the other, for Hapsfield's work, like the preſent treatiſe, is ſaid to have been written in Queen Mary's days; indeed it could hardly have been written later. But when we find the fact to which we have juſt alluded recorded in a treatiſe like the preſent, which was certainly intended in the main to be merely a ſtatement of poſitive well-aſcertained facts, we

* Edited for the Camden Society by Mr. Pocock in 1878. *See* Mr. Pocock's preface.

can hardly regard it any longer as a mere malicious libel.

The MS. is unfortunately the work of a bad copyiſt, the ſenſe being frequently obſcured by clerical errors and a general abſence of punctuation.

JAMES GAIRDNER.

BISHOP CRANMER'S RECANTACYONS.[1]

DEUM immortalem oro atque obteſtor ſi primum mihi hoc munus recuſanti, jam iterum ab eo cui nihil negare debebam idem impoſitum eſt. Si deinde cum officio ſatisfeciſſem, nullam ad rem aliam meæ laboraverunt curæ, niſi ut earum rerum quas magna ex parte cognoram veritas aliis pateret; tum quæ mea mens in recipienda cauſa fuit, quantaque fides in exponenda retinebitur, ut tanta mihi de rebus caſte explicatis atque integre ab iis qui hæc aliquando lecturi ſunt adhibeatur. Qua poſtulatione a bonis

[1] Bibl. Nat. MSS. F. Latin, 6056.

certe omnibus impetrata, magnum mihi videor in meæ conſcientiæ aliorumque animi æquiſſimo teſtimonio ad propoſiti operis inchoationem præſidium conſtitutum habere.

In animo autem eſt naturam, ſtudia, mores Thomæ Cranmeri Cantuarienſis Archiepiſcopi deſcribere, ut ea quæ mortis finitima et vicina extiterunt poſterorum memoriæ hoc diligentius mandentur, quo major mortis quam vitæ ſingularis ratio habenda eſt. Nam neque ejus qui bene moritur non optima vita ex infamia debet laborare, neque inhoneſta alicujus mors non ſatis magnum male actæ vitæ ſpecimen dabit.

Thomas igitur Cranmerus ex pene infimo fortunæ gradu, cum operam literis Cantabrigiæ adoleſcens daret, uxorem nullis adhuc ſacris initiatus domum duxit, qua brevi defuncta, cum ad intermiſſa ſtudia reverſus

ſacros ordines non ita multo poſt ſuſcepiſſet, partim ingenio quod habebat magis blandum quam acutum, partim induſtria qua in rebus non optimis multo maxima utebatur, profecit ut in doctorum nomen et collegium cooptatus, illud haberet ſibi ad honorem firmiſſimum fundamentum, iis præſertim temporibus quibus Henrici regis octavi et Catherinæ optimæ feminæ agitata divortii queſtione, per Annam Boleniam, cujus deſiderio rex flagrabat, cujuſque patri Cranmerus à ſacello eſſe cœperat, in nonnullam metropolitanæ ſedis, tum forte vacantis, occupandæ ſpem atque opinionem veniſſe videbatur. Commendabat illum formæ dignitas, coloris bonitate ornata, eruditionis nonnulla fama, mores autem ita comes, benigni, faciles, ut eos quibuſcum ei res tunc primum fuiſſet, perpetuâ familiaritate putares comprehendiſſe. Virtutum etiam

adumbrata illa quidem, ſed alia, modeſtiæ, gravitatis, induſtriæ ſigna extiterunt.

Caput erat quod [ad][1] regis in repudianda uxore ſtudium cupiditatemque omni labore, opera, officio ſuam ſe voluntatem aggregaturum oſtendebat; nec ſane ſecus ei ac ſperabat evenit. Etenim et harum rerum commendatione, et pro ſuo in regem obſequio, annis poſt genus hominum redemptum mille quingentis triginta duobus, archiepiſcopus Canturienſis[2] deſignatus; cujus autem deprecatione id factum fuerit, vel rex ipſe planum fecit; quia cum ei Cranmerus gratias epiſcopalis cathedræ nomine haberet: "hoc," inquit, "beneficium Annæ Boleniæ debet acceptum referre." Sed qui omnem aditum ad inaugurationem, niſi ex canonum conſtitutionibus in Papæ cathedram juraret, interſeptum

[1] Omitted in the MS.
[2] *Sic* in MS.

ſibi videret, porro[1] eam regis mentem perſpiceret, ut vel per ſummi pontificatus in Anglia internecionem cupitos amplexus conſectaretur, ita ſe prudenter cauteque geſſit, ut, quanquam dominis de capitali cauſa diſſidentibus, tamen utrique pro ingenii levitate ſatisfecerit. Et prius quidem tabellioni privatim denunciat quicquid poſtea verbo, facto, denique jurisjurandi religione confirmaturus eſſet, quod Pontificatus maximi principatum ſtabilire videretur, id, quando non ex animo ſed per ironiam fieret, pro irrito eſſe habendum, hac obſignata teſtificatione, Pontifici Romano, minime arte Romana nedum Chriſtiana, illudens, fidem ejus legato ſanctiſſime dat, ſe omni cura, opera, cogitatione illam ſedem propugnaturum, ni faceret,

[1] The MS. reads *parvo*. A nearly contemporary hand has added in the margin "forte *porro*."

Deus ut illi ac ſancta Dei evangelia nihil prodeſſent. Quæ reſponſa hominis parum ſibi conſtantis tam pugnantia videamus, ne ita componi poſſint, ut neque primo dicto ipſe: divi Petri cathedram, neque ex ſecundo: illum ſancta Dei evangelia quicquam juverint.[1] Et enim quaſi, tactis cum Hannibale ſacris, hoſtem ſe fore ſedi apoſtolicæ jurejurando adactus eſſet, ita ex illa die Alpes tranſcendere, Italiam atque adeo Romam ipſam infeſtis ſignis petere cœpit. Papæ, qui præter communem nominis Chriſtiani obſervantiam apud Anglos fidem Chriſti prope extinctam inſtauravit, cui etiam Joannes rex Innocentii III. temporibus omnia regni templa et beneficia dicavit, ejus non ſolum auctoritatem ex animis hominum, verum etiam ex mutis libris nomen inſcriptionemque

[1] This ſentence is manifeſtly corrupt, but the true reading is difficult to conjecture.

delendam cenſet. Catherinam, qua rex Henricus, Deo ac ejus vicario approbantibus, annos viginti amplius, conjuge legitima familiariſſime uſus eſſet, ex qua filiam regni nominiſque heredem, quæ nunc ad reipublicæ gubernacula jure optimo ſedet, Mariam ſuſcepiſſet, tamen ejus uxorem non videri pronuntiavit, cum cauſam eam apud ſummum Pontificem prius agitatam, ad ſuum forum, pro maxima illa qua iis temporibus utebatur poteſtate, revocaſſet. Neque tantum ut ei libellum repudii rex mitteret auctor conſuaſorque extitit, verum etiam ad eam rem canonum cenſuram ſeveriſſime adhibuit, quaſi vero invitus princeps ad libidinem præmeditatam perduceretur.

Aſſenſeritne Papæ rejectioni jam Lutheranæ ſectæ macula fœdatus Cranmerus, an defectionis pœna hæreſis fuerit, parum conſtat. Illud certe quidem conſtat inter omnes

poſt hæc perpetrata ſcelera, Lutheri eum doctrinæ uſque eo faviſſe, ut domus ipſius Germanis, qui ex infelici ea ſtirpe oriundi eſſent, ſemper patuerit, et eorum opera in explicandis communibus ſacrarum legum controverſiis plurimum ſit uſus. Itaque etiam ſecundam uxorem, quanquam quomodo ſacerdotis uxorem, ſed ſecundam, e Germania, ne parum Lutherana eſſet, non tantum ut illam priorem domum ducebat, verum etiam e domo, tanquam inſtitor, merces in operto exportabat, ut ad ſingula divortia preſto adeſſet capſa cum impedimento.

Hæc pro Luthero; illa ei adverſa: nam cum in publicis regni Comitiis Henricus VIII. libro edito, qui *ſex articuli* eſſet inſcriptus, in ſeptem eccleſiæ myſteriorum tutelam ac defenſionem jurato[1] promitti juberet, ex eoque magna poteſtas Cranmero fieret

[1] *Sic; qu.* juramento?

Lutherum ſuum, cui paucioraplacuiſſent, propugnandi, ille non joco, ut apud Papam conſuevit, ſed ut apud regem ſerio jurat in ipſius ac procerum totiuſque populi poteſtate ſe futurum. Videamus quam ſerio.

Pauci enim anni intercedunt, cum quinque ſacramentis è ſeptem ſublatis, duo, eaque nuda admodum, relinquit. Ac profecto, ſi eſt prudentis, ut nautæ oborta tempeſtate, ſic pontificis rei publicæ forma perturbata, novas conſilii rationes inire, nihil iſte peccavit; qui quoad Henricus rex viveret, ſeptem cum rege ſacramenta numeravit; eo autem e vita excedente, novo duci Somerſeto gratificari volens, pauciora videri ſtatuit. Et verè quidem vir ille bene penitus nobilium gratiam aſſentatiunculis aucupari ſolitus eſt, ut illud aliquando acroama, illamque vocem Henrici VIII. audierit, unum eſſe Cantuarienſem præſulem tam ſuarum partium amantem, qui nulla

unquam in re ipſius defuerit voluntati. Neque ſolum id in iis rebus præſtitit, quæ Lutheranis jucundæ accideren, verum ſive comburi quem oportebat hæreſis nomine, ſive ſacerdotem uxore ſpoliari, nemo erat Cranmero in ea re exequenda diligentior. Hæreſis enim pertinaciam aſſentationis levitas vicerat. Atque utinam hæc ejus adulatio non manifeſto ſcelere teneretur!

Nam qui prius corporis Jeſu Chriſti veritatem remque ipſam in Euchariſtiæ Sacramento et eſſe docuerat, et tum Edowardo VI., tum cæteris omnibus in ſua quam divulgavit catecheſi probare contendebat; is, ubi vidit magnatum animos in alia omnia inclinari, ipſe ſe revocans, librumque paulo ante editum corrigens ac emendans, novum ſubito alium facit, in quo aperte jam figuram pro veritate, panem pro carne, umbram pro corpore obtrudit. Cujus

poſterioris libri falſo interpoſita, impudenterque ementita teſtimonia Stephanus Gardinerus, Vintonienſis antiſtes, acerrimo ingenio vir, eo ipſo tempore judicavit et refellit; quem[1] Cranmerus de tribunali lata ſententia fortunis omnibus evertendum decrevit.

Eo eodem aſſentationis fonte puto emanaſſe quod monaſteria diſturbanda, quod prædiorum eccleſiaſticorum mercedes, quod annuum,[2] quod decimas regibus a clero perſolvendas princeps aſſentiebatur, quod Divi Thomæ martyris, qui ne illa fierent corpore morti oppoſito prohibuiſſet, ſepulcrum Cantuariæ celebre atque opulentum compilari paſſus eſt. Nam quod pro Miſſæ ſacrificio ab apoſtolorum ætate in eccleſia retento, duo nobis diverſa tribus annis *Communio-*

[1] *quo* in MS.

[2] Probably *cenſum* is omitted; or elſe the word ought to be *annates.*

num quas vocabat genera protulit, hoc non hæreſim, ſed in ipſa hæreſi, quæ pertinax eſt natura ſua, leviſſimam coarguit inconſtantiam. Quod vero, Patrum antiquiſſimis canonibus abrogatis, novum jus canonicum de uxorii conſilii ſententia moliebatur, id cujuſmodi ſit ii exiſtimabunt qui ex eo jure prima hæc capita, exempli cauſa, cognoſcent.

"Si quis claves[1] eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Divi Petri ſucceſſoribus extortas Angliæ regibus deberi juratus non dicat, ejus caput cum bonis fiſco principis conſervator.

"Ne fraudi ſacerdotibus eſto uxores quotcumque ſuo ſigillatim ordine habuiſſe.

"Ne preſbyterorum filii tanquam illegitimi rejiciuntor, ſed inter ſuos recte atque ordine ſuccedunto.

"Miſſam qui celebraſſet, primo tempore, ſex menſes in vinculis cum

[1] *clavis* in MS.

fuerit, quinque præterea libris argenti fiſco multator.

"Si iterum tam inauditum crimen admiſerit, beneficio penitus careto.

"Divorum ſtatuæ, crucis figura, Chriſti denique imago, à templis, fanis, delubris omnibus ejiciuntor, exterminantor."[1]

Atque hic prætermitti non poteſt, quod loco ſalutaris ſigni, in quo Servator ſuffixus eſt, regum inſignia, id eſt, tria lilia cum tribus leonibus proponebantur, quibus ab utroque latere, inſtar Mariæ et Joannis virginum, canis et draco, immunda, ne quid gravius dicam, animalia, ſunt adjuncta.

"Pro feſtis diebus preces Deo publicæ in privatis eccleſiis fundere nephas habetor."

Vereor ne incredibilis edictorum impuritas fidem ſit orationi abrogatura, ſed bene habet, cum iidem qui præſentes harum rerum peſtem magno

[1] *ejicitor, exterminator,* in MS.

animi dolore ſenſimus, teſtamur, prohibitos eſſe ſacerdotes præterquam in matricibus eccleſiis Deum ſolemni ritu iis temporibus colere, quibus populo rem domeſticam procurare permittitur; quo factum eſt ut ne collegia quidem in eum finem a creatoribus ipſorum exædificata, poſſent conſueta perſolvere officia; neque id dico, ut conſueto more perſolvere non poſſent, ſed ut eo ipſo more non poſſent qui ipſis hæreſiarchis fuiſſet probatus.

Acceſſit eidem,[1] ut adoratio primum ab Euchariſtia, deinde Euchariſtia ipſa de altari, poſtremo altare de templo tolleretur. Uſque eo Cranmeri crevit audacia, niſi forte quod eo ſignifero atque adeo duce actum eſt, id ejus non debet audaciæ adſcribi. Qua tamen ex re haud ſcio an maxima tum nomini Romano, tum toti catholicæ eccleſiæ parta ſit laus. Oporte-

[1] *eodem* in MS.

bat enim quod in Neronem olim ipſos inſectantem atque exagitantem Chriſtiani uſurpabant, ſingulare quiddam atque excellens bonum eſſe, quod huic tali viro tam vehementer diſpliceret.

Sed parum fuit verbo hæc ſacra violaſſe, niſi etiam palam aperteque civibus ſuis demonſtraret nihil ſe in libris aut concionibus rejeciſſe, cujus non expreſſam in moribus et vita ipſius imaginem proſpicerent. Ingreditur Divi Pauli templum Londini, et quoniam de clero etiam eſſet, in cellam beatæ Mariæ intrans, ad altare quod nondum afflixerat accedit, non ſacri faciendi cauſa, quid ergo eſt? In ipſo altari quo Chriſto in Euchariſtiæ ſacramento per illum aſpirare non licebat, Cranmerus cognitionis exercendæ cauſa conſedit, tremendum locum hominibus, imo angelis, aſpectu quoque horribilem, in quo ſcabellum pedum Chriſti

adorari ſolitum eſt, pedibus pollutis uxorius pontifex conculcat, quod, niſi hiſtoricum eſſe me recordarer, ſæpe ego et ante exclamaſſem et hic liberius etiam ingemuiſſem.

Veniamus nunc ad jus naturæ, dicam an gentium an civile? Quid enim eſt de cujus laude et gloria non plurimum iſte, poſtquam in Dei tribunal ſemel aſcendit, delibare audeat? Cum enim natura hunc ordinem rebus præſcripſerit, ut omnes ſuas vires in ea, per quæ ex ipſis procreata æternitatem ſibi ſperent futuram, penitus profundant; jure autem gentium quod quiſque ea voluntate, quæ ultima nec unquam reditura eſt, conſtituiſſet, ratum firmumque eſſe debeat apud omnes populos; jus vero civile hujus regni nominatim poſt Edwardi VI. tempora Mariæ imperium deſtinavit. Interim iſte novus legiſlator, nec ſatis urbanus prætor, pro filia cognatam, pro ſecunda

herede ab Henrico rege teſtamento inſtituta, eam quæ non niſi quinto loco nominata erat, pro Maria Janam; extantibus tabulis, ad bonorum poſſeſſionem novo edicto vocandam et ſententia decernit et opes ſuas in ea cauſa experitur. Quibus de cauſis imminutæ majeſtatis poſtulatus, una omnium voce in publicis comitiis condemnatur. Sed regina, quam ſæpe amplitudinis ipſius cauſa nomino, religionis cauſam ſuo dolori anteponens, Oxonium ductore Williamo illuſtriſſimo domino ad quintum idus Martias, anno Domini 1554, Cranmerum mittit. Comites itineris Ridleum et Latomerum habebat.

Jam deinceps nullum prætermittebatur genus remedii quo ſanari ejus corrupta mens, aut debilitata refici et recreari poſſe videretur. Principio, quia de gravitate valetudinis dubitabatur, anceps etiam curatio præſcripta eſt, quaſi tentandi vulneris cauſa; ea

erat brevi et dialectica ratione comparata diſputatio, in qua poſuit[1] ſynodus indicta Londini tria religionis noſtræ fundamenta, quæ ſi labefactare conaretur, hoſtem ſe, ſin tueri mallet, civem oſtenderet. Ex tribus illud primum fuit: "contineri veritatem carnis Chriſti panis et vini ſpecie;" ſecundum, "panem in carnem, vinum in ſanguinem, non uſu ſed natura mutari"; tertium, "Miſſam eſſe ſacrificium quo Deus hominum generi, non viventium modo, verum etiam mortuorum propitius reddatur."

Ad XV^m^ Cal. Maii, eodem anno, in ſcholam theologicam Weſtonus prolocutor cæterique doctores duodecim ex ſynodo atque Academiis duabus Oxonienſi et Cantabrigienſi, ut[2] convenerunt, productuſque Cranmerus omnia illa quæ paulo ante expoſui

[1] *poſſint* in MS.
[2] This *ut* ſeems ſuperfluous.

liberè negaret, ad diſputationem perventum eſt, in qua duas partes eum egiſſe animadvertimus; unam naturæ ſuæ, ut nihil effutiret nimis cupidè, nihil contumelioſè, quin potius et linguæ et animi fervorem inhibens, omnia verba pudoris et verecundiæ ſpecie ſuſtentaret; alteram vero calumniatoris perſonam ex Zuingliana factione capiens, cum tropis omnia figuriſque miſceret, ac, ut quique locus erat, vel ex literis ſacris vel Patrum ſcriptis, apertiſſimus, hunc eo magis fidei, ſpiritus, ſacramenti, virtutis nominibus obſcuraret. Surgit Chedſeus, quærit ab eo ſi librum quem in Euchariſtiam ex[1] omnium ſcriptorum auctoritatibus deprompſiſſe videri vellet, bona fide poſteris prodidiſſet. Cum ille *bona fide* dixiſſet, tum Chedſeus: "Quomodo igitur illum Divi Hilarii locum in quo ſcriptum erat: *noſque*

[1] *ex*] *et*, MS.

verè ſub myſterio carnem corporis ſui ſumimus, ſic turbaſti, ut pro eo quod erat *verè ſub myſterio*, tu repoſueris *vero ſub myſterio*, atque ita reddideris anglicè, quaſi non adverbium fuiſſet illud *verè*, ſed ad nomen *myſterii* additum? Ita ex vera ſumptione ſub myſterio, verum myſterium in ſumptione feciſti."—"Eo," inquit Cranmerus, "modo liber meus legit."—"Atqui, a quo," inquit Chedſeus, "librario deſcriptus eſt liber tuus? Sunt enim in promptu hic plures, a Veniciis, Pariſiis, Colonia, in quibus omnibus illud *verè* videmus relinqui." Sed hic literulæ unius error videri poterat. Oſtendebatur autem ex Euſebio Emiſſeno[1] honoris vocabulum ſuſtuliſſe, quo præcipiebat ſingulari doctrinâ vir, ut Chriſti corpus et ſanguinem in Euchariſtia fide reſpicere, honorare, mirari non dubitaremus. Quibus reprehenſionibus,

[1] *Sic* in MS. *Emeſenus* is the uſual ſpelling.

multiſque id genus aliis afflictus conticuit, et concedit. Rogatus præterea quam dudum in hac opinione hæſiſſet, aperte fatebatur ſe non multos abhinc annos Ridleo auctore didiciſſe. Porro Latomerus ex eodem loco ſuam de Euchariſtia ſententiam Cranmeri libro aſcripſit. Denique conſtabat initio imperii Edwardi Sexti, cum Stephano Wintonienſi propter eam qua Chriſtianam fidem amplectebatur conſtantiam, periculum crearetur, acceſſiſſe tum ad eum Ridleum rogaſſeque ne in cauſis non graviſſimis toti ſenatui difficilem ſe præberet, eſſe aliam quæ brevi moveretur de Sacramento altaris [1] controverſiam, ad eam ſe integrum ſervaret, illam ſuo judicio dignam videri in qua omnes nervos intendere uterque deberet; quamquam [2] cum id Ridleo à Joanne tunc Lincolnienſi pontifice, nunc Vintoniam tranſlato, coram objiceret, is

[1] *aultaris* in MS. [2] *quanque* in MS.

de Anabaptiſtarum hæreſibus ſua verba interpretabatur, ut veriſimile mihi fiat, Ridleum vix toto ante ſeptennio ſententia mutatum fuiſſe; poſt Cranmeri ſecutam eſſe plagam; demum Latomerum ſenem ad ſummum quadriennio ante informatum, quaſi neque ante Ridlei admonitionem tot Patrum quæ poſtea nobis protulit teſtimonia, Cranmerus viderit, aut niſi is ſcripſiſſet, Latomerus tantæ rei veritatem tenuiſſe non poſſet. Hæc Cranmero iniquiſſimam cauſam defendente gerebantur. Triduo autem poſt, catholicam fidem refutandi poteſtas facta, Cranmerus ex divo Joanne concludebat quia in malis Chriſtus non maneret, neque carnem ejus ſacramento contineri. Nam malos ſacramentum ſuſcipere, non autem Chriſtum; ex quo effici aliud Chriſtum eſſe, aliud ſacramentum, neque in ſacramento Chriſtum deliteſcere.

Poſtquam vero Harpsfildus theologiæ doctor pro ſua eruditione explicaſſet, non reſtare in malis Chriſtum ad animos eorum ſpiritualibus donis imbuendos, cæterum ex Divo Paulo convinci malos, indignè quidem, ſed tamen corpus Chriſti ſumere, atque ita in ſacramento Chriſtum eſſe ad eorum condemnationem qui indigne ad id accederent; eaque altercatio ultro citroque vicibus jam pluribus fuiſſet agitata, ita Cranmerus diſceſſit, ut omnes non ſolum argumenti vim fractam eſſe et comminutam putarent, verum ut ei in tota deliberatione videretur ſatisfactum, quapropter tanquam in magna curandi vulneris ſpe multi viri clariſſimi ad eum adierunt privatim; ille contra conditionis qua olim uti conſueſſet memor, flagitare pontificum colloquia, in iis maxime Tonſtalli Dunelmenſis antiſtitis, quem jam affecta ætate commode iter facere non poſſe cognôrat. Quod

ut ingenioſus Pater audivit, peterentque ab eo viri, boni profecto verumtamen Cranmeri morum ignari, ne eum laborem tanto reipublicæ commodo gravaretur exantlare:[1] "Tantum," inquit Tonſtallus, "abeſt ut ego Cranmero in Euchariſtiæ cauſa prodeſſe poſſum, ut etiam is mihi ſe ſcrupulos in eo genere injecturum confidat." Quod equidem puto veriſſimè ab eo dictum. Habebat enim Cranmerus epiſcopi Dunelmenſis librum de ſacramenti altaris aſſertione, quem Gulielmus Pius decanus Ciceſtrenſis, cum Oxonii eſſet, ei donarat, ad eumque notas ille conſcripſerat et reprehenſiones. Legati qui nihil hactenus proficerent, poſtulabant ut omnes qui in Academia[2] litteris doctriniſque eſſent dediti, tria illa de corpore Chriſti, de mutatione panis et vini, de Miſſæ ſacrificio capita, chirographis ſuis obſignarent; idque ad

[1] *exauctare*, MS. [2] *Acadecima* in MS.

unum omnes fecerunt. In quo fuit aut mira felicitas aut magna diſſimulatio: felicitas legatorum, ſi illis diſputationibus tot fluctuantes hominum opiniones ad tranquillitatem ſunt redactæ; diſſimulatio eorum qui ſubſcriberent, ſi contra ac mens ſecum ipſa ſentiret manum ad chartam admovebant, niſi forte, quod veriſimilius arbitror, non magnum putarint in ſui nominis ſcriptione momentum[1] eſſe. Cur enim qui ſe ab eccleſia ſegregaſſent manum ab animo ſeparare dubitarent? Utcumque fuerit, nemo tam immanis eſt repertus qui non manum humaniſſime accommodaret. Tres autem ſolos diſſentientes ita judicatos vidimus, cum Thomas Cranmerus, Ridleus et Latomerus calamitoſo reipublicæ tempore pravarum opinionum laqueis plebis animos implicarint, neque nunc admoniti velint in viam redire,

[1] *nonētū* in MS.

qui etiam Catholicam fidem oppugnare, ſuaſque hæreſes contra Euchariſtiæ ſacramentum et Sacrificium Miſſædefendere non extimuerint. Synodo placere, idemque principibus viris ex utraque Academia videri, opiniones Cranmeri, Ridlei et Latomeri conſenſu omnium condemnandas; hoc ſe e republica atque ex ipſorum, niſi inſanire perſeverarent, commodo futurum exiſtimare; quam ſententiam non tam fori et rei judicatæ quam ſtudiorum et ſcholarum auctoritate nitendam, cum multi viri clariſſimi totaque adeſſet exitum judicii expectans Academia, Weſtonus prolocutor in eos tulit ut merito. Supplicationes publicæ indictæſunt, et corpus Chriſti per urbem honorifice delatum, cum ex duabus Academiis quatuor doctores, in iiſque pontifices deſignati duo, Briſtolienſis et Bangarenſis, aulæa quibus corpus Servatoris noſtri ſupra tegebatur de-

portarent, clero interim cantu et ſymphonia, populo ramis projectis et adoratione gaudium ſuum conteſtante.

Cranmerus in alterius ex duumviris privatas ædes tranſlatus, cœlo non mente nova, dum ſollicitè anxièque tempus traducit, modo cum amicis colloquens, modo voluptatis cauſa in horto ſe exercens, Polus Cardinalis in Angliam tranſmiſit. O diem bonis omnibus diu multumque deſideratam! Quiſquis interdictum ſuſtuliſſet quo Anglia amplius viginti annos tenebatur, ejus nos adventu plurimum delectatos fuiſſe oportebat; ut vero is faceret, quem nos patriæ hoſtem judicaſſemus, quem cæteræ gentes incredibili virtute præditum omni tempore coluiſſent, quem Deus Optimus Maximus ad noſtram injuriam ſuamque integritatem prodendam incolumem conſervaſſet, ut is reginam quæ ſemper illum unice

dilexerat, ut Catholicos omnes quiejus fidem aſſiduis precibus implorabant abſentes, ad eccleſiæ caput reliquum corpus applicaret adjungeretque, ut in hoſtes et reginæ et regni et totius eccleſiæ ſupplicium conſtitueret, quis hoc divinitus comparatum eſſe inficiari audeat?

Legabantur brevi ad Cranmerum Papæ, regis, reginæque nomine trini viri, Jacobus Gloceſtrenſis epiſcopus, Thomas Martinus et Joannes Storeus, juris civilis doctores. Hii diem homini quo in jus veniat dicunt, reum adulterii, perjurii et hæreſis faciunt: adulterii, quod uxorem ſacerdos, et, quod fœdius eſt, metropolites ſecundam accepiſſet; perjurii, quia fidem Pontifici Romano datam non præſtitiſſet; hæreſis, quod carnem et ſanguinem Chriſti negaret reipſa in Euchariſtiæ Sacramento eſſe. Sed antequam ad ipſam rem veniretur, Jacobus Gloceſtrenſis oratione quæ

omnibus ornamentis abundaret habita, cum cauſam itineris exponebat, tum vero hortabatur ne obſtinatione poſthac animo eſſe vellet, quin pœnitentiam cui adhuc locus eſſet ageret atque ad eccleſie auctoritatem ſe aggregaret, a qua ſi quis ſegregatus eſſet in cœlos nunquam eum fore aſciſcendum. Namque dicat eccleſiam ſe veram quærere, cui adhæreſcat, non hanc. papiſticam, non tam fuiſſe aut Novatum aut Vigilantium omnis rationis expertes; qui, cum illi Divus Cyprianus, huic Hieronimus ſuam ab eccleſia defectionem exprobrarent, idem quod Cranmerus hoc tempore illi ſuo tempore et ſenſerint et præ ſe tulerint, eccleſiam ibi eſſe ubi veritas ſit, veritati autem domicilium apud ſe conſtitutum. Quod ſi Novatum Cyprianus toto cœlo errare oſtendat, qui Cornelii, id eſt Romanam ſedem, deſeruerit,[1] videret

[1] *deſerreret* in MS.

ne ipſe in eadem cauſa eſſet, præſertim cum ad ejus ſedis obſervantiam ſuo jurejurando ſe aſtrinxerit, neque ſi mente ab illo juramento, quod verbis conciperet, abhorruiſſet, idcirco magis immunem fore; id enim quemque jurare, non quod ſibi in animo fingit, ſed quod qui jusjurandum defert verbis ſententiaque exprimat. Poſtremo recordaretur quomodo ab eccleſiæ gremio, a pudicitiæ ornatu, à data fidei conſtantia, a reginæ cultu, in hæreſim, in adulterium, in perjurium, in perduellionem delapſus eſſet. Quod niſi eum pœniteret, aliam ſecurim adhuc ejus cervicibus injiciendam, ut ab honore ad dedecus, a carcere ad ignem, a vita ad mortem, non temporaneam, ſed æternam dejiceretur, ubi cruciatus innumerabiles, gemitus infiniti, perfugii nulla ſpes, nulla dolorum laxatio. O diem illum illi homini ſenſu horribilem, cujus ne recordationem quidem nos

abſentes ferre poſſemus! Quid ad hæc Cranmerus? Primum, etiam epiſcopo loquente, ab iis qui aderant quærere, quid rei fieret utrum Papa eſſet qui eam orationem haberet? Ut vero Papæilli perſonam impoſitam audivit, pileum capiti tegumen appoſuit; deinde orationem fucatam dicere, denique ridere illos qui ſuæ ſalutis tantam rationem ducerent; ſequod fecerat Evangelii legumque auctoritate adductum fuiſſe; adulterium non eſſe ubi nupti ſint; perjurii periculum ſe timere ſi nunc Papam ullo genere honoris afficeret, legibus enim publicis hujus regni ſe id non facturum ſpopondiſſe; quod antea fidem Papæ dediſſet, id invitum ſe reluctantemque feciſſe, et conteſtatione prius facta, et, quod maxime volebat affixum in eorum ſenſu atque inſitum, eâ ſpe feciſſe ut corruptos eccleſiæ mores regni Primas emendaret; de Euchariſtia ſuum librum extare, et ſimul

mirari ſe quemadmodum ſacrilegus Papa non haberetur qui alteram ſacramenti partem populo auferret, cum Chriſtus dixiſſet ut omnes etiam ex calice biberent.

Epiſcopus ei loco non tam de induſtria quam per occaſionem reſpondens: "ſi quando Chriſtus, inquit, omnes jubebat bibere, ſic illud accipis ut omnes Chriſtiani comprehendantur, licet iſta ratione id quod ſequitur univerſè ſimiliter intelligas, et *biberunt ex eo omnes;* ſin autem omnes qui uſquam fuerunt Chriſtiani ex eo calice in illa cœna non biberunt, neque id efficitur Chriſtum omnes bibere juſſiſſe, niſi forte eadem verbi vis utroque in loco non ſit, cum tam prope aliud ab alio abſit ut ſecundum primo tanquam ex altera parte reſpondeat, quodque Chriſtus fieri voluit, id evangeliſta factum eſſe ſignificet." Adhibuit pontifex aliam quoque interpretationem, quam, quia

longior eſſet, non attingo. Pauca enim ex altercatione tanquam deguſtandi cauſa libuit proponere. Nam quod ingenium aut Thome Martini copiam in dicendo ubertatemque, aut Joannis Storei vim et gravitatem pro dignitate illuſtret? Cum ille regum in hæreticis accuſandis, ac divi Petri poſterorum honoribus augendis perpetuam conſuetudinem laudibus efferret, ex quo fieri dicebat ut communibus auxiliis communes eccleſiæ hoſtes depellerentur (et) regni, atque niſi in hoc reo[1] idem faceret (regina), ſuo nomine, abuſuram, quod à fidei defenſione eſſet ſortita. Cranmerum porro qui Papæ nihil deberi arbitraretur, propterea quod ante prædixiſſet ex animo ſe minime juraturum, perinde facere ac ſi quis quando ſe hominem occidere nolle dixiſſet, poſtea occidens concedi ſibi (veniam) contenderet oportere, quoniam præ-

[1] *Sic* in MS.; *qu.* regno?

fatus eſſet, ſua voluntate nequaquam id fieri.

Storeus autem, ut[1] de conteſtatione, cui ſequens factum derogaret, de legibus regni, de jurisjurandi poteſtate ac vi multa divinitus afferret, ut Cranmeri timorem quo ſe ab obſervantia Papæ avocari confirmabat, non eum qui in bonum virum caderet, ſed ſimulatum, vanum et improbum eſſe convinceret; Cranmerus, ut Papam contemnere impudentiſſime perſeverans, ſic omne genus obſequii Martino qui reginæ perſonam ſuſtinuerat tribuebat, et ſi hoc non eſt obſequium reginæ tribuere, quem illa parentis loco habeat, hunc ab hoc vix liberum atque adeo hominem exiſtimari; et hactenus quidem iſte ſui ſimilis extitit, ſemper igitur malus ac in improbitate conſtans tamen. Nam reliquum illius ætatis tempus ſpatio breviſſimum mutationes et lo-

[1] *ut* omitted in MS.

corum habuit, et vero etiam crebras ſententiæ atque opinionum.

Principio ad illuſtriſſimam reginam literas dedit, in quibus dicebat ſe auctoritatem Pontificis Romani ea de cauſa non agnoſcere, quod hujus regni legibus ne id faceret prohiberetur, neque vero ejus Antiſtitis conſenſum ut de ſe ſtatueretur requirendum eſſe, qui patriis legibus ſine externa ope poſſet coerceri. Nam quod Sacramento Euchariſtiæ corpus et Sanguinem Chriſti negaret, non eſſe mirandum, cum neque unus quiſpiam qui idem concederet ex ſanctis reperiretur; ac tametſi vulgi ignoratio ferri poſſet et excuſari, tamen quando ipſe hæc intelligeret, ſibi ſi taceret concedi nulla ratione oportere.

Quas literas cum Thomas Martinus ampliſſimæ reginæ redderet, illa rogabat liceretne legere, aut omnino accipere quod hæreticus miſiſſet.

Tam in re catholica prudenter ſe ſanctiſſima femina gerebat. Cranmerus in carcerem rurſus non multos dies poſt legatorum diſceſſum conjicitur. Erat enim ſuſpicio nimium liberos multis ad eum intra privatos parietes aditus patere. Cæterum ne de illa injuria deplorare poſſet, omnium jam ſermonibus ſibi eſſe interdictum, ampliſſimus cardinalis Reginaldus Polus, literis ad eum datis, quibus nihil neque ipſis ornatius neque de cauſa et re gravius afferri potuit, ſic cum eo egit. Quanquam compellare hominem a doctrina eccleſiæ alienum dilecti Chriſto diſcipuli verbis prohiberetur, is præſertim qui Papæ, hoc eſt ſummi judicis, perſonam legatus gerat, tamen cum meminiſſet quantopere Dei in peccatores clementiam miſericordiamque conveniret ejus in terris vicarios imitari, hanc ſe operam ſuſcepiſſe ut periculo quod ejus cervi-

cibus et a cælo et a terra impenderet denuntiato, utrum ad communem apoſtolorum, martyrum, confeſſorum civitatem, conſentiente omnium voce, trahi poſſet experiretur, neque ſe ad diſputationes quibus obſtinatior ſua culpa factus eſſet iterum[1] venturum, quinimo unam reliquam rationem videri, qua ei mala quæ in hoc regnum intuliſſet in memoriam redigens, ad ſalutarem pœnitentiam hominem mutaret. Quomodo igitur is quicquam in religionis negotio ſibi ſumeret cujus ad honorem ingreſſus non virtute ſed libidine fœdiſſima niteretur? Cum enim ad rem factus eſſet regni primas, ut juris ſpecie regis cupiditate morem gereret,[2] itaque et pontifici Romano, abrogata ejus auctoritate, perjurum illuſiſſe, et reginam uxoris nomine quo amplius viginti annos colebatur

[1] *terum* in MS.
[2] *generet* in MS.

ſpoliatam in ordinem[1] redegiſſe, et regi turpiſſime blandiente ad eam dimittendam, quam multis condicionibus ut retineret adduci poterat, cenſurarum minas intentaſſe. Quo exitio quot millia hominum eſſe implicata, quantam inde bonorum cædem, quot ſpolia eccleſiarum, quantam cladem nobilitatis, quantam populi oppreſſionem conſecutam eſſe, idque cum juris nomine facinus nepharium obtegitur. Quid nunc miri eſſe ſi pro cathedræ archiepiſcopalis ambitione in concilio impiorum abiens, traditus primum ſit in deſiderium cordis, deinde aſcita concubina in paſſionis ignominiam,[2] poſtremo in reprobum ſenſum qui corpus et ſanguinem Chriſti negaret in Euchariſtiæ ſacramento contineri? Quam tamen rem tum Spiritus Sanctus mille annorum ſilencio, tum uni-

[1] *Sic; qu.* in viduam?
[2] *ignomine*, MS.

verſa eccleſia editis libris, tum Lanfrancus Cantuarienſis antiſtes, Andegavenſis archidiaconi,[1] qui magiſter hujus erroris fuit, interpretatione frequenti epiſcoporum confeſſa damnata, munitam probe ac vallatam reliquiſſet. Quid quod ipſe, donec perjurii reatu aſtrictus in cathedra deriſorum ſediſſet, eandem doctrinam cum reliqua eccleſia profeſſus eſſet, nunc poſtquam per ſuperbiam ſcripturarum intelligentiam ſibi præter cæteros omnes arrogaſſet, etiam per juſticiam languere circa quæſtiones et pugnas verborum neque ſcripturas utique intelligere aut veritatis diſcipulum, nedum doctorem eſſe poſſe. Quod ſi ſcripturas intelligere nihil aliud ſit quam Dei conſilium in eis noſſe, is autem novit qui potentiam verbi a Spiritu Sancto ad perniciem ſapientiæ hominum reve-

[1] *diaconi*, MS. The perſon referred to is the celebrated Berengarius.

latam recte noverit. Hominum vero ſapientia nulla ex re magis infringatur, quam cum caro et ſanguis Chriſti ſub panis et vini ſpeciem [1] mortalibus revera exhiberi creduntur. Quod magis abhorret [2] a communi ſenſu quam ſi auctor naturæ Deus homo factus in ea forma qua dii ſe in terris olim oſtendiſſe perhibentur, mortem pro hominibus quam homines quoque hominum cauſa ſubiverint expetiiſſe dicatur; in quo tamen et Judæi et Græci offenſi fuerint profecto, qui non modo hanc offenſionis neceſſitatem in Euchariſtiæ ſacramento non videret, verum etiam eadem cauſa, ut mundi ſcilicet ſapientibus gratificetur, pro carne et ſanguine ſignum et figuram ſubſtituat, cum ignorantiam ſuam in Scripturis prodere ſeque in reprobum ſenſum traditum eſſe teſtatur, omnibus facere pernicioſius etiam errare, cum omnes

[1] *ſpem*, MS. [2] *adhorret*, MS.

qui verum Chriſti corpus in hoc ſacramento adorant non vereatur idolatriæ condemnare. Quaſi vero aut Deus, quod crimen in quovis hominum genere maxime ſemper odiſſet, in ſuis, in ſacerdotibus, in epiſcopis, tot ſecula regnare paſſus eſſet, aut in tot hæreſum generibus notatis rejectiſque hoc longe graviſſimum a nemine unquam fuiſſet deprehenſum.[1] Hiis eſſe illum tenebris circumfuſum quod non tanquam parvulus ad præceptorem, non tanquam jumentum ad pabulum, ſic is ad Chriſti doctrinam accedat, ſed potius, quod a diſcipulo alienum eſſe debet, quomodo fiat iſtud ſemper exquirat. Quibus de cauſis in eum appoſite cadere illud apud Mathæum: *Erratis neſcientes ſcripturas neque virtutem Dei.* In extrema fere parte epiſtolæ, ſi tamen epiſtola eſt quæ ad perfecti libri magnitudinem accedit,[2] cum

[1] *deprehenſæ*, MS. [2] *eccedit*, MS.

prius Deum Patrem, per Unigeniti ejus Filii mortem, ſe precaturum dixiſſet, ut pro immenſa ſua miſericordia oculos ei et aures[1] aperiret, ac tanquam præteriens de ſpiritu, aqua et ſanguine[2] ex Joanne Evangeliſta intuliſſet *Tres*[3] *teſtimonium dant in terra* continenturque in hoc ſacramento et ſacrificio quod per univerſum orbem terrarum offertur, ſicut Malachias propheta prædixit, "in omni loco ſacrificatur et offertur nomine meo oblatio munda," tandem hortabatur[4] ut ad Chriſtum, cujus vicarium ex ſede[5] ſua deturbaſſet, quemque ipſum ſublato in hoc ſacramento[6] ejus pedum ſcabello[7] e terris ſuſtuliſſet, cum lacrimis rediret. Quam epiſtolam Cranmerus ut legit, eloquentem videri dixit, ſed

[1] *arres*, MS. [2] *ſaguine*, MS.
[3] *Tres*. In MS. "*in*," which is clearly a miſreading of "*iij*."
[4] *hortebatur*, MS. [5] *ſeda*, MS.
[6] *ſacremento*, MS. [7] *ſcobello*, MS.

quod ad rem attineret partim nimis acerbe conſcriptam, partim a vero abhorrentem. Polus cardinalis ut ad Cranmerum literas, ſic ad Academiam virum ſingulari doctrina, continentia, pietate miſit Petrum de Soto, fratrem ordinis Divi Dominici. Is cum Cranmero diebus jam pluribus de catholicæ eccleſiæ auctoritate agens primo diſcipulum habuit, ſatis deinde permoleſtum auditorem, poſt etiam apertum hoſtem. Ergo ad Ridleum idem pater tranſiit, tum ad Latomerum, in quibus nihilo plus frugis, imo longe minus bonæ ſpei eſſe cognovit.

Dum hæc Oxonii geruntur, Maria Regina literas a Cranmero datas cum Polo Cardinali tradi juſſiſſet, rever. Cardinalis in hanc ſententiam ad Cranmerum, quaſi ſuſcepta in ſe reginæ cauſa, reſcripſit inauditam ſibi audaciam videri quod Cranmerus neque unius Patris in euchariſtiæ ne-

gotio conſentiens fidei catholicæ teſtimonium ſe reperiſſe diceret, quando tot undique et ante ab aliis et a Tonſtallo Dunelmenſi epiſcopo nuper producta ſunt. Quod autem leges regni Papæ adverſari dixiſſet, nihil eſſe à vero alienius. Quid enim? utrum ignorare illum tam frequenti conſeſſu totius Parliamenti ſuffragiis poteſtatem Papæ receptam eſſe, an credere quod a Parliamento nuper ſit conſtitutum eadem auctoritate pie non poſſe abrogari. At vero, inquiebas, non fuiſſe opus ut Pontificis Romani fides contra te imploraretur; ſi unquam ullus in hoc regno epiſcopus abſque illius ſedis decreto de gradu ſacerdotii dejectus eſt, tamen item in regni primatem valere non debuiſſe. Nunc vero pontificem nullum exauctoratum unquam eſſe Romani antiſtitis injuſſu, quominus in Archiepiſcopum aliquid novi conſtituendum videri, præſertim cum veteris me-

moriæ exempla Eboracenſem archiepiſcopum, Edowardo ejus nominis quarto regnante, et læſæ majeſtatis reum fuiſſe, et nonniſi Papa conſulto ex ſacra militia miſſum etiam factum.[1] Ac nimirum, ſi etiam ſummorum in Anglia pontificum cauſa ad Papam non ſpectaret, tamen Cranmeri eam condicionem eſſe ut præcipue ejus formarum ratio eo diſceptatore judicari deberet; cæteros enim vel ſuperbia ingenii vel morum impuritate a papa deſciviſſe atque in hæreſim prolapſos eſſe, in Cranmero etſi eadem notiſſima fuerint, tamen latere aliud majus quod ad Romanæ cathedræ principatum proprius accedat: illum quippe juratum dediſſe pontifici Romano fidem, promiſiſſe obſequium, poſt in eodem oppugnando ducem et principem extitiſſe, quo ex fonte[2] omnes poſtea hæreticorum ſectæ derivatæ ſunt et per

[1] *Sic.* [2] *ſaite*, MS.

omnes imperii fines diffuſæ; non uſitatum illud perjurii malum fuiſſe, non minis et terroribus expreſſum, quemadmodum in cæteris, ſed libera voluntate, ab homine gloriæ cupido ſuſceptum, niſi forte vim ſibi contenderet intentatam, ut metropolitanam ſedem arriperet, aut metu adductum id ſe honoris expetiſſe ſui. Vis et metus adhiberi ſoleant in rebus malis; archiepiſcopum autem fieri in bonorum numero ponatur. Profecto nihil afferri ab eo poſſe cur tam turpiter Papam uno pene momento et domo exceperit juratus, et regno perjurus ejecerit. At non hos mores Davidi[1] prophetæ probari qui poſtquam interrogaſſet: *Quis aſcenderit in montem Domini?* Subjecit: *qui non accepit in vano animam ſuam, nec juravit in dolo proximo ſuo.* Cranmerum contra cum maxima animi diſſimulatione Chriſto et toti eccleſiæ

[1] *Davido*, MS.

in dolo juraſſe, ideoque cum in Pſalmo ſequatur : *hic accipiet benedictionem a Domino*, nempe qui in dolo non jurat, neceſſario effici ut qui doloſe juraverit maledictionem accipiat, etenim ut illa vere jurans eſt generatio quærentium Dominum, ſic pejerantem hanc deludentium dominum generationem eſſe. Jam vero, O Deus bone! indulgentiam maternam! quod facere comes ludimagiſtri ſolent, ſi quis puer bona indole quem valde amant cum aliis peccat, ut eo præterito cæteros quorum exemplo is ſibi conſulat acriter cædant, idem in perduelle atque hæretico regina facit. Ridleum enim et Latomerum qui criminibus iiſdem aſtringebantur prius comburi jubet, ſi forte aliena inſania frui Cranmerus vellet. Ridleus autem cum vulgo doctus haberetur, tamen ſibi certe multo doctiſſimus eſt ſæpe viſus qui hoc habebat ut contradicentem non æquiſſimo animo ferre poſſe. Chriſtum in ſermonibus

nominabat ſuum, cujus ſe cauſam defendere aſſeverabat. Qui pridie quam moriretur ab epiſcopo Gloceſtrenſi exauctorandus, gaudere ſe profitebatur quod nullius turpitudinis dedecore deformata fuiſſet ipſius vita; quod de nuptiis, quibus ſe ſacerdos abſtinuiſſet, arbitror eſſe dictum. Quo tempore epiſcopus ne ſibi, quod nulli ex ſanctiſſimis viris tribuiſſet, juſti viri laudem vindicaret, graviter admonebat. Idem ſimul ac linteam veſtem albam induit: "Si arundinem, inquit, in manus additis, Chriſtum videbor referre magiſtrum meum." Denique tam immoderate lingua eſt abuſus, ut Pontifex poſt illa neminem intereſſe paſſus ſit. Poſtridie perductus cum Latomero ad ſupplicium precantis more palum amplectitur, manus oculoſque in cœlum attollens. Cranmerus interim ex carceris turri eventum ita expectabat, ut non minus

ſæpe in eum quam in alios duos oculi hominum animique converterentur. Poſtquam vero linteo corporibus obvolutis ad palum alligarentur, Ridleus, ſolatii credo cauſa, Latomero ab altera pali parte prehenſato; "Non diu," inquit, "erit cum nos eumdem rurſus in locum conventuri ſumus." Tum ignis oppoſitus eſt, quem Zephiro in Latomerum impellente, ut pulverem tormentarium quem ad pectus paratum habebat corripuit, is perquam flebiliter lamentatus Patremque cœleſtem identidem teſtatus diem obit. Ridleus ſummo tantum ignis ambuſtus, ignem miſerabiliter inclamat, ſive alium apponi, ſive illum demi vellet; frater qui aderat, et ipſe ex miſericordia ejulans, faſciculos accumulat, puto ut dolori finem celeriorem afferret. Quod contra accidit. Faſciculorum enim numerus flammam deprimit. Tandem acerrime ſe in omnes pali partes verſans, cum Lato-

merum verſus occidiſſet, diſrumpebatur, et eundem in locum jam tum convenerunt; quod de corporibus ipſorum accipi volo.

Cranmerus vero aperto capite in genua, omni corona ſpectante, provolvitur, pauloque poſt de Ridlei acerbitate ſupplicii cum cuſtode carceris queſtus eſt; in quo bene ſane accidit quod tortores erant homines Ridlei amantes, in iiſque frater ipſius, ne a Catholicis hoc fuiſſe prævifum adverſarii calumniarentur. Qui autem ex oppidis finitimis undique viſendi cauſa concurrerunt: "Dii illos," inquiunt, "male perdant! Qui ſi prius fuiſſent exuſti, nos ad ſemina terris mandanda majorem à pluvia lunæ cælique temperationem habuiſſemus."

Putabatur iſtorum interitu magna libertas animum in alia omnia inducendi Cranmero acceſſiſſe, propterea quod homines non minus interdum quid de ſe alii exiſtiment, quam id

ipſi facere debeant ſolent cogitare. Interim, ſorore[1] Cranmeri id omni modo a regina Cardinali contendente, cum prius poſſetne ex canonum inſtitutis archiepiſcopus et regni primas neci dari cum juriſconſultis egiſſet, ab urbana cuſtodia ad ædes decani eccleſiæ Chriſti deducitur. Erat eo tempore Oxonii Joannes quidam de Villa Garcyra[2] Hiſpanus ex ſocietate fratrum divi Dominici in magna famæ celebritate. Hunc cum iſte accerſiſſet, rogaſſetque uti liberè colloqui de omni religionis negotio poſſet, frater Johannes, qui ſciret hæreticum hominem poſt unam et alteram correptionem vitandum, illumque ſubverſum arbitraretur, quod neque publicis diſputationibus neque patris Soto privatis colloquiis ad ſanitatem revocari ſe

[1] *ſorrore* in MS.

[2] The name in other authorities is *de Villa Garcina*. In this MS. it is ſpelled *Garcia*, *Garcyca*, and *Garcyra*.

paſſus eſſet, initio ab illius ſermone abſtinebat, cum diceret hæreticos multum gaudere Catholicorum colloquiis, non veritatis indagandæ cauſa quam omnes odiſſent, ſed ut ſe poſtea victores apud ſuos jactitarent, aut etiam novi aliquid interdum et inauditi averent audire, quodque Herodi erga Chriſtum accidiſſet, quem magnopere in conſpectum dari expetebat,[1] ut miraculum ab eo coram editum conſpiceret, idem fortaſſe Cranmero uſu venire, ita fratrem Johannem, quem Oxonii profiteri theologiam accepiſſet, novitatis ſolum gratia ſinit arceſſere;[2] ſe[3] vero, ſi publicè foret agendum, nullum laborem recuſare, ſed privati ſermonis fructum non magnum perſpicere. Quod quanquam ſæpe multis reſpondiſſet, tamen et decani et patris Soto et multorum aliorum ſuaſu tandem perductus

[1] *expeciebat* in MS. [2] *accercere* in MS.
[3] *ſi* in MS.

eſt ut ad Cranmerum adiret pridie Cal. Januar. anno 1555. Ibi Cranmerus cum alte petito ſermone magno neſcio quid dicturus videretur: "Ego," inquit Joannes, "infinitam fore video[1] de rebus ſingulis diſputationem, nam ſi multi dies uni controverſiæ non ſatis eſſent, ad univerſas quot requiri?" Statueret potius aliquam certam in eo genere quæſtionem, quod unum ſi dediſceret,[2] in reliquis non magna poſſet reſtare dubitatio. Quid multis? de ſedis apoſtolicæ auctoritate ut quæreret aſſenſum eſt, hoc enim poſito quod[3] Chriſtus vicarius Papa eſſet, graviſſimam cauſam videri ſtatuebant, quamobrem ab ejus auctoritate nulla in re deberet recedi. Quibus conſtitutis, doctiſſimus Pater Joannes ex ſacris literis principatum Pontifici Romano variis argumentis aſſerebat;

[1] *vide* in MS. [2] *dediſeret*, MS.
[3] *quo* in MS.

præcipue autem ex illis locis: Primum, de nomine Petri ſeu Cephæ, dicebat quod et ex Simone Barjona mutatum eſſet, et, ipſa ſignificatione vocabuli, cujus vices gereret teſtaretur. Deinde: *Tu es Petrus, et ſuper hanc petram ædificabo eccleſiam meam*; urgebat illud *et ſuper hanc petram ædificabo eccleſiam meam*, quod in Chriſtum cadere non poſſet, in quo jam ante eccleſia erat ædificata, ex quo relinqui ut in Simone Petro ædificanda tanquam in vicario Chriſti proponeretur.

Cui loco Cranmerus non modo verum aliquid, ſed nihil prorſus habebat quod reſponderet. Pergit Joannes ad alterum teſtimonium: *Ego autem rogavi pro te, Petre, ut non deficiat fides tua:—Tu aliquando converſus confirma fratres tuos.* Item ad tertium; *Paſce agnos meos, paſce oves meas.* De quorum ſententia quando duabus horis et amplius actum eſſet, Cran-

merus tandem dicebat ſe non tantopere ei opinioni adverſarium,[1] niſi plane perſpiceret illam ſedem manifeſtos errores tueri. "Quoſnam," inquit Joannes? Tum alter intulit: "De Purgatorio, quod nec uſquam eſſe nec ejus rei ullam apud Patres, maxime ex Latinis Auguſtinum, ex Græcis Chryſoſtomum, extare mentionem."

Quærebat igitur Joannes utrum eam rem iſtorum arbitratu decidi vellet; is ſubridens et de ſua in Auguſtino evolvendo induſtria multa prædicans, in quo aiebat nihil admodum eſſe quod Purgatorii cauſam adjuvaret, conditionem accepit. Jamque pater Joannes quaſi ad arbitros cogendos abiens, ipſis Calendis Januariis, publice prius habita more ſuo pomeridiana concione, revertitur.

Chryſoſtomi pro ſe ſententiam in epiſtolam ad Corinthios priorem pro-

[1] *adverſarum* in MS.

tulit, item in ea verba Pauli: *Mihi vivere Chriſtus;* ex Auguſtino autem teſtimonia laudabat hæc de Civitate Dei, ex Enchiridio ad Laurentium, De cura pro mortuis agenda, ex epiſtola ad Januarium, ex libris Confeſſionum, tum verba alia, tum illud præcipue ubi et ipſe pro matre defuncta deprecatur, et omnes qui eos libros lecturi ſunt rogat ut ad altare ejus meminerint.

Fatebatur Cranmerus nunquam ſe advertiſſe ad illum locum. Quapropter coacto ut apud eum cœnaret Patre Joanne, a cœna dixit hoc ſe unum libenter agnoſcere, eccleſiam ſemper pro defunctis preces fudiſſe, ſed nihil aliud, neque Chryſoſtomum neque Auguſtinum afferere. "Quaſi vero," inquit Joannes, "medius quidam locus ex iis rebus non neceſſario ponatur." "Quid ita," inquit Cranmerus, "cum fortaſſe orarit pro iis qui ſunt in Inferno?" "Itane pro

deſperatis?" inquit Joannes. "Potuit etiam," inquit Cranmerus, "fortaſſe pro iis qui in cœlo ſunt orare?" "Nego,"[1] inquit Joannes, "pro iis qui Deum vident ejuſque gloria fruuntur." "Apage," inquit Cranmerus, "agatur de Pontifice Romano. Relinquamus Purgatorium."

Tum Joannes; "At vide, ad Purgatorium deflexiſti." Nihil jam Joanni antiquius fuit quam ut ab eo diſcederet quem in reprobum ſenſum videbat eſſe traditum. Cæterum quando impenſè alter rogabat ut ad Papæ poteſtatem oratio converteretur: "Potes igitur," inquit Joannes, "dubitare quin ei cathedræ adhæreſcendum nobis ſit, quæ ex apoſtolicis omnibus ſola reliqua eſt, quæ tot Imperatorum gladiis petita, tot malevolorum dentibus corroſa, tot hæreticorum lacerata morſibus, tamen non modo comminuta non jacet, verum

[1] *Ego* in MS.

etiam eo firmius ſtat majoreque gloria floret, quæ a principio generis Chriſtiani conſiliis publicis non dico interfuit, ſed ſumma conſenſione omnium gentium præfuit ſemper." "Provincialibus fortaſſe aliquod," inquit Cranmerus, "non œcumenicis." "Da ergo mihi conſilium aliquod," inquit Joannes, "generale, non ex eis quæ pridem fuerunt, ſed quod tu maxime ſincerum putes, et in quo nihil ſit quod vel ipſe reprehendas, idipſum Papæ oſtendam auctoritate ſtabilitum fuiſſe."

Cranmerus Nicænum primum nominavit. Joannes, arrepta ejus manu: "Quid," inquit, "ſi oſtendero Sylveſtrum Papam id convocaſſe?" "Nunquam," inquit Cranmerus, "facies. Et[1] quid, ſi fecero?" "Pro certo habeo non poſſe te." "At ſi oſtendero tamen?" "Profecto," inquit Cranmerus, "Papam

[1] *It* in MS.

eccleſiæ caput et olim fuiſſe et nunc eſſe aperte aſſeverabo." Hic ingenioſus vir qui aſtutias hæreticorum probe noſſet, facereque eos ſolitos ſciret ut quod remotis arbitris dixiſſent, rurſus poſtea negarent, conditionem ſcriptis mandari poſtulat, et ſimul Doctorem Marſhallum, eccleſiæ Chriſti decanum, cujus domus erat, adſciſcit. Diu multumque recuſare Cranmerus; tandem ſcribere, nunquam demonſtrari poſſe Concilium Nicænum e Silveſtro Papa eſſe convocatum. Urgere Joannes ut perſcriberet, ſi ita eſſet, Papæ omnino agnoſceret principatum. Tum iterum ſcribere, ſi id Concilium Sylveſter indixiſſet, eum videri eccleſiæ caput fuiſſe. "At plus," inquit Joannes, "promiſiſti; neque enim de ſolo Silveſtro agitur, ſed de omnibus Romanis epiſcopis." Ergo a Joanne petit ut is Papam eccleſiæ caput eſſe negaret ni[1] quod intendiſſet ve-

[1] *in*, MS.

rum poſſet oſtendere. "Ego," inquit Joannes, "a te accerſitus tecum egi, non tu mecum; mea probatio eſt, tua fidei datæ liberatio." Demum hoc ſententia quæ ſequitur, inſpectante decano, conſcripſit: "Ego Tomas Cranmer dico non poſſe oſtendi concilium Nycænum fuiſſe congregatum auctoritate Sylveſtri Papæ; quod ſi oſtendatur, fatebor quemcunque Petri ſucceſſorem eſſe eccleſiæ caput; ſin minus, Joannes frater pro mendace habebitur." Fecit ut id ſcribere adderetur Thomas Cranmer, qui meminerat frequenter uſurpari in ea re Conſtantini Imperatoris nomen, nec intelligebat id concilium ab utroque potuiſſe convocari.

Domo[1] diſcedens Joannes diligenter accurateque concilia quanquam intempeſta nocte pervolutat, repertiſque teſtimoniis, ad Cranmerum rediens: "Quamquam," inquit, "ſatis[2] eſſe de-

[1] *Domus* in MS.

[2] The MS. has *in* before *ſatis*.

bet, ſi concilium illud debuiſſe a Sylveſtro indici monſtravero, quoniam non quid fiat in hac quidem quæſtione quâ de fide agitur ſed quid oporteat fieri, conſideramus; oportuiſſe autem à Sylveſtro indici, illa ex tripartita hiſtoria et Iſidoro declarant, non oportere[1] præter ſententiam Romani Pontificis concilia celebrari; tamen ut factum juri aſſentire videas, idem etiam a Sylveſtro fuiſſe calatum hiſtoria commemorat: Temporibus Sylveſtri papæ et Conſtantini piiſſimi Auguſti factum eſt magnum Concilium in Nicæa Bythiniæ, et congregati ſunt regulariter ejuſdem Sylveſtri papæ vocatione in idipſum trecenti decem et octo epiſcopi catholici. Item: hujus temporibus factum eſt concilium cum ejus conſenſu aut etiam precepto (Nam utrumque legitur) in Nicæa Bythiniæ." Stomachari Cranmerus, et a papiſtis illa

[1] *hortere* in MS.

verba falſo interpoſita vociferari, nec in ullo extare libro qui abhinc annos quindecim fuiſſet deſcriptus. Tum Joannes, tametſi de fide libri non erat quamobrem dubitaretur, tamen ne qua vel ficta relinqueretur adverſariis defenſio, eadem verba ſtatim in libro annos abhinc ſeptemdecim excuſo reperit, omneſque qui in bibliothecis extabant eodem prorſus modo legebant; ut jam nihil ſit niſi perfidioſum et vanum eſſe Cranmeri.

Joannes jam tum Londinum cogitans, ſic enim ferebant negotia, Cranmero deliberandi poteſtatem fecit. Queſtus enim eſt cum patre Joanne non tam commode ſe poſſe de iis rebus in otio meditari atque ſoleret; quaſi vero qui ſingulis diebus publice legeret, feſtis concionaretur, plus haberet ad cogitandum ſpatii quam is cui totos dies nihil agere ſemper licuit.

Poſt Joannis diſceſſum, tanquam

de induſtria fidem liberaturus, templum repente inivit, Miſſæ affuit, frequens ſupplicatum una proceſſit, ipſaque die Purificationis beatiſſimæ Virginis lumen in ſuas manus acceptum famulo tradidit. Poſtremo exequias defunctorum ſuo cantu cohoneſtavit.

Revertitur Londino Joannes de Villa Garcia, neque tanta bona de Cranmero audiens, ad eum tamen rediit antequam advocaretur, et prima ſtatim ſalutatione, ſatiſne cogitaſſet rogabat. Quo ſatis ſe tempus habuiſſe dicente, jubebat Joannes quod ſibi videretur diceret. Tum ille argumenta adduxit quibus perſuaſus ſummi Pontificis amplitudinem muniendam putaſſet. Erant autem hujuſmodi. Solum etiam Petram Chriſtum, non igitur divum Petrum fuiſſe petram, aut fundamentum ponere poſſe præter id quod poſitum eſſet Chriſtus Jeſus. "Quid," Joan-

nes aiebat, "idem Paulus dicit: *Eſtis ſuperædificati ſuper fundamentum Apoſtolorum et Prophetarum ipſo ſummo angulari lapide Jeſu Chriſto*, ut plura jam fundamenta ponenda ſint, omnium primum et alia quæ hoc nitantur; illa quidem ſed tamen ipſa fundamenta ſunt." "Si Petrus erat caput, quomodo," inquit Cranmerus, "membrum eſſe potuit? Si non membrum, neque ex eccleſiæ corpore." "Si omnes," inquit Joannes, "capita ſua homines conferrent ut membrum eccleſiæ divum Petrum eſſe convincerent, quod aliud medium adhibuiſſent, niſi hoc quia caput eſſet? Eſt enim concluſio neceſſaria membrum eſſe, quia caput ſit." Commoveri Cranmerus cœpit, et Sophiſtam Joannem clamare, convitiumque ei quaſi homini ſyllabas et voces aucupanti[1] maximum facere. Vix credas tam nihil in

[1] *aucupandi* in MS.

hæreſiarcha fuiſſe acuminis; ſed ita plane homo erat.

Cuſtos ei fuerat appoſitus homo diligens virtuteque prædítus Nicholaus Wodſonus. Is in magnam ſpem Cranmeri verbis adductus fore uti hæreſim facto, jam verbo quoque, ipſius brevi condemnatam audiret; dies multos id expectans, ubi tempus proferri opinionumque revocationem commentitiis cauſis[1] produci intellexit, iratus domum diſcedit, neque, uti conſueverat, rem opera[2] conſolatione illum ſublevat. Cranmerus, deſiderium hominis amiciſſimi, cui vel intimos animi ſenſus aliquando poſſet aperire, graviter moleſteque ferens, quinto Kalendas Februarii bene mane Wodſonum advocat, quid eſſe quare tam diu abfuerit rogat. "Quid," inquit Wodſonus, "mihi tecum rei eſt? aut quouſque me inani ſpe

[1] *commentij iis cauſis* in MS.
[2] *Sic* in MS.

lactabis, ſi noſter es? ſin autem alienus, ejus laboris quem ſuſcepi vehementer pœnitet." Tum Cranmerus; "Poſterius," inquit, "iſta videbimus; interim volo apud me ſis hodie." "Hac conditione," inquit Wodſonus, "ut te colligas noſtroque eſſe in numero velis." Qui, quando alio pacto teneri non poterat, Cranmerus a prandio ſe pollicetur id curaturum. Admonitus autem a prandio ſui promiſſi ait[1] ſibi non liquere, et ea cauſa rem ampliari depoſcit. Wodſonus deſtitutione illa perculſus Deum cœpit teſtari poſthac ſe perpetuo Cranmeri conſuetudine cariturum, neque unquam hominis et hæretici et perfidi uſurum familiaritate. Vix oſtium abiens occluſit, cum Cranmeri membra repentinus horror occupat, quo acerbiſſime perculſus exanimatus pene concidit, ea tamen intelligentia ut male ſibi eſſe proſpiceret, ac prop-

[1] *aut* in MS.

terea lectum verſus inclinans ad illum ſe applicaret.

Alter autem aſſectator et qui aſſiduus Cranmeri fuiſſet adminiſter, de proximo cubiculo gemitu inopinato excitus,[1] in lecto herum collocat. Quam rem Cranmerus etiam adhuc de lecto poſt horas quinque Wodſono narrabat. Ibi Wodſonus docet hoc Dei factum eſſe providentia, hoc eſſe potentiæ ſummi numinis ſpecimen, conſuleret[2] ſibi re integra, ſi ſaperet. Cranmerus etſi novum ſibi hoc accidiſſe pernegabat, quinimo[3] aſſuetum eſſe iſto morbi genere, tamen vel ea re perſuaſus, vel hac abuſus occaſione, omnia Papæ, regis, reginæque decreta chirographo comprobat his fere verbis, quæ ſic ad verbum Latine credidi, ut omnem orationis commoditatem putarim rerum ipſarum cauſa non negligendam:

[1] *exitus*, MS. [2] *conſulreret* in MS.
[3] *qui imo* in MS.

"Quando regis reginæque majeſtas ex Parliamenti conſenſu Papæ auctoritatem in hoc regnum admiſit, contentus ſum me in ea re illorum legibus ſubjicere, et Papam agnoſcere ſummum caput hujus eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, quatenus Dei leges et hujus regni leges et inſtituta permittunt."

THOMAS CRANMER.

Nec inveteratæ levitatis oblitus, quod modo ſcripſerat poſt dies aliquot moderatur alio in ſcripto, atque alia quædam interponit. Neque tamen multi dies intercedunt, cum ſe tertio corrigens, iterum ſine ulla exceptione hac formula Papæ et illuſtriſſimis regibus ſeſe dedidit:

"Ego Thomas Cranmer, in theologia doctor, ſubmitto me catholicæ eccleſiæ Chriſti, et Papæ ſupremo capiti ejuſdem eccleſiæ, et majeſtati

regis et reginæ, omnibus eorum legibus et inſtitutis."

THOMAS CRANMER.

Quibus ita conſtitutis, propter ſermones qui de ejus exauctoratione diſſipati ſunt, eo in carcerem ex Decani ædibus retruſo, Edmundus Londinenſis et Thomas Elienſis epiſcopi Oxonium legantur, ut archiepiſcopum Cantuarienſem, et combuſta jam Romæ ipſius ſtatua, et SS.mi Papæ Pauli IV. et ampliſſimi Cardinalium Collegii, addo etiam potentiſſimorum principum Philippi et Mariæ, graviſſimique ſenatus ſententiis damnatum ſacerdotii ſe munere atque inſignibus cogerent abdicare, anno 1556, idibus Februariis. Harpsfildus Londinenſis archidiaconus pro conditione hortatur ne ſibi nimium aſſumeretur, ne plus cæteris ſapere, plus intelligere putaret, noſſet ſeipſum, cogitaret quantorum fuiſſet malorum dux et

auctor; eum uxores duas, quod hactenus in ſacerdote inauditum eſſet, habuiſſe, a parente ſua Romana ſede impie deſciviſſe, perturbaſſe eccleſiæ diſciplinam, diſputationibus, colloquiis, literis, clementiaque regum abuſum eſſe, adjunxiſſe ambitioni ſchiſma, ſchiſmati hæreſim, omnibus effrenatam libidinem, idque dum ſuo confidit ingenio; quæ una peſtis perniciem omnibus ante hæreticis attuliſſet. Qui ſimul ut dicendi finem fecerat, Cranmerus imaginem Chriſti quam paulo ante dejectam, exterminatamque, cum convicio vulneratum afflixiſſet, nunc amplexus, nam in ligneis ſeptis, unde cruſis (*ſic*) figura populo exhibetur, forte ſteterat: "Hunc, inquit, ego fortunis meis judicem ſtatuo;" quo ex loco ſtatim in jus ad legatos vocatus, ſtolis, infulis, omnibuſque claris ornatus inſignibus, et iiſdem rurſus detractis, et quis olim fuiſſet, et quam ſe illo

honore indignum geſſiſſet, et quo nunc ex loco in quantas deinceps miſerias eſſet, ſerio aliquando poſſet cogitare. Ille contra lætitiam vultu ſimulare velle, etiam facetus videri, qui diceret, archiepiſcopus cum eſſet, non humiliore veſtitu atque abjectiore quam quo Londinenſis epiſcopus uteretur, indui ſe oportuiſſe. Neſciebat videlicet epiſcopos illos Papæ legatos eſſe, aut ſe et illis antepoſuit et Papæ adæquavit, cum aut omnes neceſſe fuerit pares fuiſſe, aut eum ſummo inferiorem extitiſſe. Quid quærimus? etſi illa ignominioſa miſſione (*ſic*) affectus eſſet, non qua milites minus induſtrii a caſtris arcentur, verum qua perfugæ hæretici hoſtibus Chriſti et eccleſiæ deduntur, tamen epiſcopi non adhuc quidem omni ſpe depoſita experiuntur an depravatum animum in meliorem queant cogitationem flectere. Ac primo quidem adventu, ſpei aliquantum

elucebat. Poſtea vero epiſcopo Londinenſi de catholica eccleſia percontante, ſtatim de Euchariſtia ſermo delapſus eſt, modo, Harpsfildo contendente, niſi Chriſtus de vera carne in ſexto divi Joannis capite ageret, indigne tam hominum multitudinem quæ uno verbo revocari poterat dimiſſam ab illo eſſe; modo inſtante eodem, quem acerrimum in omnibus deliberationibus adverſarium ſenſit, Joanne de Villa Garcyca, quiquærebat quo Cranmerus ore corpus Chriſti negaret in Euchariſtiæ ſacramento eſſe, quod omnes ante Sancti ſemper affuiſſe contendiſſent, utrum eos omnes periiſſe, quia Cranmeri novam fidem ignoraſſent? "Imo vero," Cranmerus inquit, "et ego vos puto per veſtram fidem poſſe ſalutem æternam conſequi, et me item per meum." "Non igitur," inquit Joannes, "una fides quæpiam erit, quâ qui diſſentit infidelis habeatur." Cranmerus fate-

batur in rebus neceſſariis unam debere fidem eſſe, non æque in cæteris. "Atqui," Joannes inquit, "quod apoſtoli docuerunt neceſſarium, certum haberi non debet?" "Plane," inquit Cranmerus. "Illi autem vel ſub ſpecie panis eſſe corpus, vel non eſſe docuerunt?" "Non eſt," inquit Cranmerus, "neceſſe." "Unde ergo illud," Joannes inquit: "*Quod accepi à Domino, tradidi vobis?* Ecce dicit ſe Corinthiis id tradidiſſe." Hic commoveri viſus eſt, manuque ad barbam admota deprehenſum ſe dicebat. Itaque paulo poſt, epiſcopo Londinenſi ſcriptum ſua manu exhibuit hoc prorſus ſenſu; "Contentus ſum ſubmittere me majeſtati regis et reginæ, et illorum legibus inſtitutiſque, tam iis quæ ad Papæ primatum ſpectant quam aliis, perpetuoque commonebo et incitabo alios, quod in me eſt, ut idem faciant, tranquilleque atque in obſequio eorum majeſ-

tatis humiliter vivant non obſtrepens neque ægre ferens eorum pia inſtituta; et quod ad librum attinet quem edidi, contentus ſum me catholicæ eccleſiæ et generalis concilii proxime futuri judicio ſubmittere." Poſtquam vero intellexiſſet illud de libro ad concilium generale rejiciendo minus placuiſſe, mutatis paulum verbis hujuſmodi ſcriptum dedit: "Notum ſit per præſentes quod ego Thomas Cranmer, in theologia doctor, nuper Cantuarienſis archiepiſcopus, firmiter ſtabiliter conſtanterque credo omnibus articulis et punctis Chriſtianæ religionis et catholicæ fidei, ut catholica credit eccleſia et ut credidit ab initio; preterea quod ad Sacramenta eccleſiæ attinet, credo ſincerè in omnibus punctis ut catholica credit et credidit eccleſia ab initio Chriſtianæ religionis. In cujus rei teſtimonium, manu mea ſubſcripſi hiſce præſentibus, XVI. Die Februarii 1555.—Thomas Cranmer."

Ipſe, quaſi de corporis Chriſti in Euchariſtia veritate nihil dubitans, poſtulabat ut de mutatione panis et vini in corpus et ſanguinem Chriſti deliberare cum patre Joanne poſſet, quod dum fit[1] ſedulo, ſed ſine magno fructu, nuntii perferuntur Oxonium nonis Martiis igni eum eſſe adjudicatum; quo accepto, omnibus repente artubus contremiſcens, a Joanne de Villa Garcyra vehementer contendit, ne nunc ei velit deeſſe. Joannes ſæpe antea eluſus nihil admodum ſe illi credere dicebat; ſed cum Cranmerus ſerio pollicitus eſſet ſe cuicumque rationi quæ catholicam fidem complecteretur ſubſcripturum, celeriter ſcriptis mandatum eſt in hac formula:

"Ego Thomas Cranmer anathematizo omnem Lutheri et Zwinglii hæreſim et quodcumque dogma ſanæ doctrinæ contrarium. Confiteor

[1] *ſit*, MS.

vero et credo firmiſſime unam ſanctam et Catholicam Eccleſiam, viſibilem, extra quam ſalus non eſt, atque ejuſdem in terris ſupremum agnoſco caput epiſcopum Romanum, quem fateor ſummum eſſe pontificem et Papam, ac Chriſti vicarium, cui omnes tenentur ſubeſſe fideles. Jam quod ad ſacramenta attinet, credo et colo in Sacramento Euchariſtiæ verum Chriſti corpus et ſanguinem, ſub ſpeciebus panis et vini, veriſſime citra ullum[1] tropum et figuramcontenta, converſis et tranſubſtantiatis pane in corpus et vino in ſanguinem Redemptoris divina potentia; atque in ſex aliis ſacramentis, ſicut in hoc, id credo et teneo quod univerſa tenet eccleſia ac ſenſit Romana. Credo inſuper Purgatorium locum, ubi ad tempus cruciantur defunctorum animæ pro quibus ſancte et ſalubriter orat eccleſia, ſicut et ſanctos colit,

[1] *nullum*, MS.

ad illoſque preces effundit. Demum in omnibus me profiteor non aliud ſentire quam Eccleſia Catholica et Romana tenet; ac me pœnitet quod aliud unquam tenuerim ac ſenſerim. Deum autem ſupplex oro, ut pietate ſua mihi condonare dignetur quæ in illum et ejus eccleſiam commiſi; fideles ſimul rogo et obſecro ut pro me preces effundant. Eos autem qui meo aut exemplo aut doctrina ſeducti ſunt, per ſanguinem Jeſu Chriſti obteſtor ut ad Eccleſiæ redeant unitatem, idemque dicamus omnes, ut non ſint in nobis ſchiſmata. Poſtremo ſicut me ſubjicio Catholicæ Chriſti Eccleſiæ ejuſdemque ſupremo capiti, ita me ſubmitto Philippo et Mariæ Angliæ Regibus atque eorum legibus et decretis, et teſtor Deum optimum maximumque hæc in nullius gratiam, nullius metum a me confeſſa, ſed ex animo et libentiſſime, ut meæ et aliorum

ſimul conſcientiis conſulam et proficiam.

"Per me; Thomas Cranmer. Teſtes hujus ſubſcriptionis; Joannes de Villa Garcya, Henricus Sidallus."

Suis brevi rebus ſermone hominum celebratis, Petrus Soto qui ante apud Cranmerum nihil profeciſſet, nunc accurrens de pœnitentia ipſius gratulatur, ac ſi quis ſui uſus eſſe poſſet, operam ait ſe daturum. "Nihil," inquit Cranmerus, "aliud peto, quam ut Deum mea cauſa preceris, ab eoque pacem et veniam miſero depoſcas. Agitant enim me atque inſectantur meæ conſcientiæ ſtimuli, nec unquam quieſcere patiuntur. O me arrogantem!" Jamque plura dicturus videbatur, ſed præ lacrymis loqui non poterat. Placuit cæteris ut hæc res præclariſſimo Domino Williamo, qui proximo die ſpectator ſupplicii futurus erat, deinde reginæ ſenatuique nuntiaretur.

Quo tempore in pœnitentia perſiſtens de nocturnis tentationibus ſæpe queritur, ſæpe divos ſupplex compellat preceſque eas quas in Litaniis frequentat eccleſia, tum ſolus, tum una cum alio perſolvit. Cum autem ſeptem pſalmos, qui a pœnitentia nomen acceperunt, accurate meditatus, ad eum verſum perveniſſet: *Quoniam ſagittæ tuæ infixæ ſunt mihi*, tantam vim lacrymarum perfudit, ut facile conſtaret inter omnes ex animo jam ſuæ vitæ eum pœnitere. Quid? quo cum eccleſia in gratiam redire exoptat, nec hominem ignarum et rudem, ſed doctiſſimum qui ſacris interdictum abſolvat, cuique peccata ſua inſuſurret, dari ſibi precatur. Qua poteſtate a Polo cardinali patribus religioſiſſimis facta, Petro de Soto et Joanni de Villa Garcya, horum conſenſione primo alii defertur, deinde eo recuſante fratri Richardo, viro cum pri-

mis probo, illa cura mandatur. Richardus et ab aliis admonitus, et ipſe ſui officii memor, omni ratione cavet ne veteratorie quid, aut callide, malitioſeve gereretur. Is, cauſa cognita, pœnitentem videri pronuntiat ſuaque abſolvit ſententia.

Magno ſe onere Cranmerus levatum putabat, neque tamen ſecurus fuit, quoties ille, advocato Joanne, quoties cum ſponte acceſſiſſet, ſuam pertinaciam qua Pontificis Romani liberalitatem et incredibilem clementiam repudiaſſet, accuſabat! Ut quiſque ad eum venerat (venerunt autem multi), gaudere ſe ſignificabat quod in catholicorum numerum fuiſſet ac gregem receptus, redditus eſt ei Thomæ Mori liber ſanctiſſimi viri, quem de afflictorum conſolatione inſcripſit; hac occaſione de Moro dicebat, quanto et ingenio et eruditione et probitate is abundaſſet, a cujus exitiali calamitate ſe diſſen-

ſiſſe prædicabat, non proinde autem a cæterorum interitu excuſandum. Nam ut de corporibus interfectis taceret, quot hominum animos ejus defectione infectos eſſe, quibus quam ſatisfaciendi ſpem proponi! Ecce renovantur ſtatim lacrymæ, ad orationis aſylum confugit, in concionibus ſe precibus populi commendari et exemplum palinodiæ omnibus oſtendi nominatim petit, Miſſæ ſacrificium implorat, ſacramenti altaris cupit fieri particeps. Ergo eodem Richardo ſacrum faciente, Cranmerus iterum ſacerdoti peccata ſua confeſſus, comparat ſe ad cœnam Domini multo lætiſſimum, hic frater Richardus cuſtodem carceris cum familia et vicino uno atque altero jubet adeſſe, quibus audientibus et ſpectantibus Cranmerum rogat velletne Servatoris corpore et ſanguine expleri. Ille nihil ſibi antiquius eſſe aſſeverabat. Tum Richardus: "Fidem ergo," inquit,

"in euchariſtiam teſtatam omnibus qui adſunt relinquas." Et mox interrogat utrum crederet Chriſti Jeſu, filii Dei et hominis, carnem et ſanguinem ſub panis et vini ſpecie deliteſcere, annon? Ille ſe ſine omni dubitatione et credere fatebatur. "Nec ullam hic," inquit Richardus, "naturam panis, vini, alteriuſve rei, præterquam corporis et ſanguinis Jeſu Chriſti adeſſe credis?" "Certiſſime," inquit Cranmerus, "credo." —"Omneſque errores quos in ſacroſanctam Euchariſtiam commentus es ex hoc loco dimittis?" "Omnes," inquit, "dimitto, meque eorum pudet pœnitetque." "Adora igitur," inquit Richardus, "præſentem Deum et hominem Chriſtum Jheſum." "Adoro," inquit Cranmerus, "præſentem Deum et hominem." Neque contentus præeunti reſpondiſſe, plura etiam domo allata in medium profert, Euchariſtiam bene multis verbis allo-

cutus, longamque de ejus præſtantia et dignitate orationem inſtituens.

Eodem fere tempore, Colus juris civilis doctor, triſtiſſimos nuntios Londino pertulerat, vitam Cranmero condonari non poſſe. Quod ubi audivit, eodem vultu quo cætera, hunc quoque dolorem tegens, nunquam ſe mortem timuiſſe ait, ſed peccatorum intolerabili mole omnium opprimi. Atque hic de filio pluribus Colum rogat, ut, quoniam ipſe tanquam hoſtis reginæ et eccleſiæ moriturus eſſet, neque jure teſtandi filio quidquam poſſet relinquere, Colus a regina deprecaretur ut vel iis fructibus quos Henrico donante accepiſſet, frui orphano liceret, quem etiam locum lacrymis ad poſtremum ornabat. Colus admonet ut conſtantem ſe in fidei Catholicæ cauſa oſtendat, de cæteris non[1] laboret.

Cranmerus ſcelerum magnitu-

[1] *non*] *me* in MS.

dine territus, multa, uti homines in tali re ſolent, formidabilia cogitat. Ex quo factum eſt ut ne ſomnium quidem iis curis ſolutum caperet. Nam ipſe hoc ſibi narrabat triduo antequam e vita exiret accidiſſe. Oſtenderunt ſe illi in ſomno duo reges, quorum alterius ſtudium in vita ſæpe ambitioſa appetiſſet, alterius ope poſt mortem egeret; hos Chriſtum et Henricum VIII. viſos eſſe; Henricum nihil admodum dixiſſe, at ipſo geſtu Cranmerum e curia repuliſſe nec in vita paſſum conſiſtere; Chriſtum toto ſe corpore avertentem cœli januam occluſiſſe, et quoniam Chriſtus eum cœlo, Henricus hac vita prohiberet, nullum ſibi alium niſi ad Inferos aditum patere. Hæc in ſomno: vigilanti autem denuntiatum eſt non ſatis ei fore ſi, cum palam deliquiſſet, tantummodo ſacerdoti peccata inſuſurraret, ſed aperte ſua eum ſcelera

agnoſcere execrarique oportere. Probatur ei conſilium, jubet ſcribatur confeſſio, cui libenter ait ſe aſſenſurum. Scriptura autem eſt hæc:

"Ego Thomas Cranmer, pridem Archiepiſcopus Cantuarienſis, confiteor et doleo ex animo quod graviſſime deliquerim in cœlum, et adverſus Anglicanum regnum, imo in univerſam Chriſti eccleſiam, quam longe ſævius perſecutus ſum quam olim Paulus, qui fuit blaſphemus perſecutor et contumelioſus. Atque utinam qui Saulum malitia et ſcelere ſuperavi, poſſem cum Paulo quem detraxi honorem Chriſto et eccleſiæ utilitate recompenſare! Verum meum utcumque animum latro ille evangelicus ſolatur. Ille namque tunc tandem ex animo reſipuit, tunc illum furti pertæſum eſt, quum furari amplius non liceret; et ego qui meo officio et auctoritate abuſus et Chriſto honorem, et huic regno fidem et

religionem abſtuli, jam tandem Dei maximo beneficio ad me reverſus, agnoſco me omnium maximum peccatorem, et cupio ſi qua poſſem Deo primum, deinde eccleſiæ et ejus capiti ſupremo atque regibus, toti demum Anglicano regno condignam reddere ſatisfactionem. Verum ſicut latro ille infelix, cum non eſſet ſolvendo quas pecunias et opes abſtulit, cum nec pes nec manus affixæ cruci ſuum officium facerent, corde et lingua, quæ non erat ligata, teſtatus eſt quod reliqua membra eſſent factura, ſi eadem qua lingua libertate gauderent; illa confeſſus eſt Chriſtum innocentem, ea objurgabat impudentiam ſocii, eadem anteactam vitam deteſtatus eſt, et peccatorum veniam impetravit, et veluti clavi quadam Paradiſi fores aperuit. Hujus exemplo non mediocrem concipio de Chriſti miſericordia ſpem fore, ut mihi peccata condonet. Manibus et pedi-

bus careo quibus quod deſtruxi iterum reædificare valeam; relicta enim ſunt tantum mihi labia circa dentes meos, ſed vitulos labiorum noſtrorum recipiet qui eſt ſupra quam credi poteſt miſericors. Hac igitur concepta ſpe, libet hunc offerre vitulum, hanc minimam corporis et vitæ partem litare. Confiteor in primis meam erga Deum optimum maximum ingratitudinem; agnoſco me omni indigniſſimum beneficio et pietate, digniſſimum vero omni non tantum humano ac temporali, ſed divino et æterno ſupplicio, quod in Henricum VIII. et maxime in ejus uxorem Catherinam reginam vehementiſſime deliqui, quum divortii cauſa et auctor extiti, quæ ſanè culpa omnium hujus regni malorum et calamitatum ſeminarium fuit. Hinc tot proborum neces, hinc totius regni ſchiſma; hinc hæreſes; hinc tot animorum et corporum ſtrages

obortæ ſunt, ut vix poſſim vel ratione complecti. Sed cum adeo ſint hæc gravia initia dolorum, aperui, fateor, ingentem feneſtram hæreſibus cunctis, quarum ego præcipuum egi doctorem et ducem. Inprimis vero illud vehementer meum excruciat animum, quod ſacroſanctum Euchariſtiæ ſacramentum tot blaſphemiis et contumeliis affecerim, negans Chriſti corpus et ſanguinem vere et realiter ſub ſpeciebus panis et vini contineri; editis etiam libellis quibus veritatem pro viribus impugnabam, in hac ſane parte non ſolum Saulo et latrone deterior, verum etiam omnium quos terra unquam ſuſtinuit ſceleratiſſimus. Domine, peccavi in cœlum et coram te; in cœlum, quod cauſa [mei] tot caret cœlicolis, quod cœleſte hoc beneficium nobis exhibitum negavi impudentiſſime. Peccavi et in terram, quæ tamdiu hoc ſacramento miſerè caruit,

in homines quos ab hac ſuperſubſtantiali eſca revocavi, tot occiſor hominum quot inedia perierunt; defraudavi defunctorum animas hoc jugi et celeberrimo ſacrificio. Atque ex his omnibus manifeſtum eſt quantopere etiam poſt Chriſtum in ejus vicarium injurius extiti, quem libris etiam editis poteſtate privavi. Propterea magnopere et impenſiſſime oro ſummum Pontificem, ut mihi ob Chriſti clementiam condonet quæ adverſus illum ejuſque Apoſtolicam ſedem commiſi; ac ſereniſſimos reges Angliæ, Hiſpaniæ, etc. Philippum et Mariam ſupplex oro ut regia qua pollent clementia mihi velint ignoſcere. Totum etiam regnum, imo univerſam eccleſiam rogo et obſecro, miſereantur hujus miſeræ animæ, cui jam præter linguam nihil eſt reliquum, quo poſſim illatas injurias et damna reſarcire. Præcipue vero, quia tibi ſoli peccavi, oro, clemen-

tiſſime Pater, qui omnes ad te venire, quamlibet facinoroſos, et cupis et præcipis, me propius et cominus digneris intueri, ſicut Magdalenam et Petrum reſpexiſti, vel certe ſicut latronem e cruce aſpiciens tuæ gratiæ et gloriæ promiſſione dignatus es pavidum et trementem animum conſolari; ita etiam ſolita et nativa tua pietate oculos miſericordiæ ad me convertas, necnon tuo me digneris alloquio, dicens: *Salus tua ego ſum;* et in die mortis: *Hodie mecum eris in Paradiſo.*

Scriptum eſt anno Domini 1555, Martii die 9a.

Per me Thomam Cranmer.

Jam munus exequiarum a ſingulis collegiis poſt mortem flagitans, ſi quando otium contigit, et prioris palinodiæ exempla emendabat, et ſi quis nova alia deſcripſerat, libentiſſime ad ea manum apponebat. Quod pridie quam exiret e vita

cum feciſſet, adjiciebat nullius rogatu ſe poſtea ſubſcripturum.

Ejus noctis fere ſecunda vigilia, maximus in porta cui carcer imminebat, equorum ſtrepitus, voces etiam hominum quaſi exire jubentium auditæ dicuntur, quidque (*ſic*) ipſum extra lectum aiunt intempeſta nocte reſtitiſſe. Fama tenebat experiri certos homines conſtituiſſe an liberari e carcere Cranmerus poſſet; quorum ut nihil iis conſtitit qui non modo proximi habitabant, verum etiam in eodem conclavi propter cubabant, ſic illud cuſtodis carceris uxor aperte præ ſe ferebat, cum illa Cranmerum ante dies quatuordecim egiſſe, ut faber ferrarius in carcerem adduceretur, cujus opera noctu in reſignandis foribus uti poſſet. Quo etiam tempore, cum cometa irati numinis index compareret, e lecto ejus contemplandi cauſa ſe ſublevaſſe dicitur; alias tantum abeſt ut extra lectum reperiretur,

ut neque illa nocte quæ obitum ejus anteceſſit ſomno carere vellet. Itaque qui aderant adminiſtri[1] ſuſpectam rem jam tum habebant. Nam ſi præclarè illud a graviſſimo quodam ſene ad juvenes integros et incolumes dictum eſt, mirari ſe quando cœnare poſſent in quos mortis ſententia fuiſſet lata, quod ille de morte ſuo die affutura, non de jam præſente dicebat; quid de hoc homine ſtatuendum eſt qui horis ad ſummum ſexdecim obiturus ceſſabat, recitabat precationem quam in mortis tempus ediſcere inſtituerat, ſubito relinquebat, de ſcripto ſe recitaturum dictitans; ad veſperum feria ſexta potabat delicate, ſermones cum comitibus in multam noctem producebat, cubitum ibat, uſque ad quintam mane ſomnum capiebat[2] ſecurus? Illud autem ex ejus verbis, quia indicium aliquod animi continet, commemorandum

[1] *adminiſti* in MS. [2] *cupebat* in MS.

putavi. Nam drachmam mulierculæ quæ pro illo deprecaretur largitus, pluris ſe boni viri qui laïcus fuiſſet quam mali ſacerdotis preces facere teſtabatur.

Poſt horam quintam experrectus, clamabat de carcere concionantis in morem, hortatuſque eſt qui carcerarii domo eſſent non hujus mundi rebus confiderent, ſed in Deo ſpem haberent fixam, eum in omni difficultate deprecarentur. Deinde cum litanias ſumma religione recitaſſet, aliiſque mutatæ ſententiæ exemplis, ſecus quam pridie dixerat, ſua manu ſubſcripſiſſet, nuntius adeſſe dicitur a ſorore, non Catholica illa quæ Oxonium viſendi fratris cauſa venerat, ſed ab altera qui annulum neſcio quibus cum mandatis ei tradit. In hoc annulo principium mali ominis notabatur. E carcere tamen exiturus Nicolao Wodſono gratias magnas agit, exempla mutatæ ſententiæ

quatuordecim apud eum deponit; cum diceret velle ſe illa teſtimonii loco extare, ut ſi quis ad fidem Catholicam negaret eum rediiſſe, illis convinceretur. De precibus et exequiis iterum deprecatur et quinque nominat collegia quorum ſuffragiis apud Deum juvari poſt mortem expeteret; eccleſiam Chriſti, beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ, Omnium Animarum, quod ejus ſe auctorem diceret, et Corporis Chriſti. Cumque Wodſonus pro ſuo in Catholicam Eccleſiam ſtudio ne a fide vellet deficere obteſtaretur: "Noli," inquit Cranmerus, "dubitare; Deus eſt qui animum initio ſententiamque flexit, eum quod inſtituit exædificaturum confido."

A carcere in ædem divæ Mariæ ducebatur. Ibi dum Colus concionem habet, Cranmerus ei adverſus contrariuſque reſedit ſublimiore in loco, ut conſpici ab omni turba

poſſet. Colus a Dei beneficiis quibus humanum genus indies ſibi devinciret exorſus, ſecundo loco nec quærendum dicebat quibus orationibus impulſa ſenatus auctoritas, reginæque amplitudo ad veniam Cranmero dandam difficilior extitiſſet, propterea quod regum arcana enunciare nefas ſit, et tamen cauſas ejus rei multas reddi poſſe, illam imprimis quia inutile foret exemploque vitioſum, ſi princeps et auctor omnium plagarum quas Anglia tot annis proximis accepiſſet impune id ferret, ob quod in comites et adminiſtros quotidie animadverteretur. Deinde Cranmero idem conſilium ſummas poſſe opportunitates afferre, in quo laudabat ejus fortitudinem animi, corroboratamque in malis tolerandis et perferendis patientiam. Tantum enim abeſſe ut Cranmerus pœnæ acerbitate commotus fuerit, ut etiam cum ad eum cohortandi cauſa

Colus veniſſet, nihil ſibi jucundius fore diceret, quam quod tantorum ſcelerum ſibi conſcius hoc genere ſupplicii cruciaretur, imo illud ſibi nimium leve jam viſum eſſe; neque optare ut eo omnino liberetur, aut id quocumque modo mitigaretur, ſemel dependendum ſuo corpori eſſe in hac vita, quo magis ei propitius in futura Deus fiat. Divinitus autem orationem Colus concludebat, proportione quadam multis in rebus multa eſſe æqualiter partita et recte diſtributa: Joannem Roffenſem et Thomam Morum, afflictata primum et perculſa religionis cauſa, dum eam tuerentur neci datos, illum ex clero, hunc ex populo, magnum utrumque virum et in ſua conditione clariſſimum; inſtaurata jam eadem religione alios duos morte ſimiliter affici, Joannem Northumbriæ ducem et Thomam archiepiſcopum Cantuarienſem, illum ex populo, hunc

ex clero, utrumque longo intervallo totius regni principem. Porro eos pro ea fide in morte vindicias ſecundum libertatem dixiſſe, quam in omni vita diligentiſſime tenuiſſent; hos eum cultum quem vivi obſervaſſent deſeruiſſe morientes et ad Catholicam Eccleſiam ſe contuliſſe. Ita paucis conſolatur Cranmerum quod ex neceſſitate virtutem, ex ſupplicio peccatis debito martyrium effici poſſe contenderet, ei facit, ſi quid vellet, dicendi poteſtatem. Fit magna expectatio. Surgit Cranmerus ore lacrymis oppleto; dolore inuritur iis qui ſpectabant multi, non ſecus ac ſi ſua res ageretur collacrymari. Is populum ſtans cum de ſcripto ita allocutus eſſet, etiam ipſe ad Deum orationem convertit: " Magnopere a vobis, viri Chriſtiani, chariſſimique in Chriſto fratres et ſorores, peto rogetis mea cauſa omnipotentem Deum, quod mihi omnia

peccata mea remittat, quæ etſi neque propter multitudinem numerarem, neque propter magnitudinem metiri poſſum, tamen unum etiam eſt quod præter cætera omnia conſcientiam graviſſime vexat, de quo, quod Dei voluntate fiat, plura ſtatim dicam. Sed quantumvis ea et multa et magna ſint, obteſtor ut ea mihi condonari per Dei miſericordiam depoſcatis. O Pater Cœleſtis, o Fili Redemptor mundi, o Spiritus Sancte ab utroque procedens, tres perſonæ et unus Deus, miſerere mei ſceleſtiſſimi hominis et miſerrimi peccatoris! Peccavi in cœlum et terram, ſupra quam dici poſſit. Quo igitur eam, aut quo confugiam? ad cœlum oculos attollere pudet, et in terra perfugium non invenio. Quid faciam? Vtrum ſpem omnem deponam? abſit! Deus, tu miſericors es, nec quemquam repellis qui ad te præſidii cauſa confugit. Ad te igitur curro, tibi ſupplex dico:

Domine Deus, peccata mea illa quidem magna ſunt, ſed tu propter magnam miſericordiam tuam miſerere mei. Deus non eſt factus homo propter levia noſtra errata. Non dediſti neci Filium tuum ad minima tantum, ſed ad omnia etiam quæ mundus graviſſima committere poſſet redimenda, ſi modo peccator ex animo ad te convertatur, quod equidem hoc tempore facio. Quapropter miſerere mei, Domine, quanquam enim magna mea peccata ſint, tamen major eſt miſericordia tua; non quaſi meritus aliquid, Domine, ita rogo, ſed propter nomen tuum, ut ſanctum id ex eo ſacrumque declaretur, et propter chariſſimum tibi filium Jheſum Chriſtum. Nunc igitur, Pater, qui es in cœlis, etc." In genua deinde accidit; orationem Domini reliquam clara voce recitat; ſalutationem Angeli ad beatiſſimam Virginem omnino prætermittit;

ſecundum in hoc omen [1] oſtendebat. Surgens deinde: "Homines," inquit, "cupiunt, viri optimi, cum moriendum illis eſt, ad præclarum aliquod cæteros adhortari, cujus poſt mortem ipſorum et meminiſſe viri probi queant et fructum aliquem ex eo percipere. Quamobrem et ego Deum precor ut quippiam ejuſmodi mihi loquendum concedat, cujus ad illum laus, ad vos utilitas perveniat. Principio, indignum eſt illud, cum animadverto homines vulgo ſic præſenti mundo addictos eſſe, ſic ejus ſtudioſos, ut de futuro vix, ac ne vix quidem, laborent cogitare. Ergo illud primum admoneo ne pluris quam oportet mundum æſtimetis, ſed in Deum ac futurum ſæculum cogitationes veſtras figatis, ut intelligere poſſitis quid illa divi Joannis verba velint: *Amicitia*, inquit, *hujus mundi eſt odium apud Deum.* Sequitur ut ſe-

[1] *omnem*, MS.

cundum Deum regi veſtro ac reginæ (quos cum nominabat genu demiſſe flectebat) voluntarie, libenter et ſine omni querela obſecundetis, non metu eorum ſed Dei cauſa, cum ſciatis eos a Deo adminiſtros eſſe datos qui vobis præſint ac imperent, ut qui eis adverſetur Dei præſcripto adverſetur. Tertius locus erit ut voſmet inter vos tanquam fratres ac ſorores ametis, ſed per Deum cujuſmodi hic eſt amor, cum multi alios non pro fratribus ac ſororibus, ſed pro peregrinis atque ideo pro hoſtibus habeant. Vos autem id unum addiſcite ut quod in vobis eſt prodeſſe omnibus velitis, neque magis cuiquam nocere quam iis quos natura vobis fratres ac ſorores dedit, qui enim odio quemquam proſequitur, eique de induſtria obeſſe cogitat, ſine omni controverſia Deus cum illo homine non eſt, utcunque is Deo ſe placere arbitratur. Poſtremo eos quibus opes affluunt ad-

hortor, ut tria ſacræ Scripturæ dicta et attente audiant et meminerint: primum eſt ipſius Servatoris, qui ait divites difficulter in cœlum ingredi; horribilis oratio, ſed Illius qui verum quid eſſet optime novit; ſecundum eſt divi Joannis, qui ſic ſcriptum reliquit: *Qui habuerit ſubſtantiam mundi hujus et viderit fratrem ſuum neceſſe habere, et clauſerit viſcera ſua ab eo, quomodo charitas Dei manet in eo?* Tertium eſt divi Jacobi, qui ſic divites avaros alloquitur: *Agite nunc, divites, plorare ululantes in miſeriis veſtris quæ advenient vobis. Divitiæ veſtræ putrefactæ ſunt et veſtimenta veſtra à tineis comeſta ſunt. Aurum et argentum veſtrum æruginavit, et ærugo eorum in teſtimonium vobis erit et manducabit carnes veſtras ſicut ignis. Theſaurizaſtis vobis iram in noviſſimis diebus.* Qui divitiis abundant hæc tria dicta diligenter expendant, nam ſi unquam tempus ullum fuit

quo tempore quam pie erga inopes afficerentur poſſent oſtendere, hoc illud eſt, cum et ſolitudo egentium tanta ſit, et ea caritas annonæ." Et hactenus quidem verba videris lacrymarum profuſione continenter impedita. Sequebatur in charta, ut de jure diceret quod regina ad hoc regnum habebat. Quibus tamen in dicendo prætermiſſis, "ita," ex eadem charta, "pendet tum anteacta tum futura vita, ut aut[1] perpetuo vivam cum Chriſto Servatore atque[2] in maximis gaudiis, aut in ſempiternis cruciatibus cum maledictis dæmonibus in inferno, cumque ob oculos hoc tempore videam vel cœlum quod in promptu ſit ad me excipiendum, vel infernum qui me abſorbeat; ea de cauſa planum vobis faciam quæ mea verè fides ſit, ſine omni fuco et diſſimulatione. Neque enim hoc tempus ut diſſimulem patitur. Primum, Credo

[1] *ad* in MS. [2] *neque* in MS.

in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, factorem cœli et terræ, etc., et credo omnes articulos Catholicæ fidei, quamlibet clauſulam, verbum, ſententiam, quam Servator noſter Chriſtus docuit vel ipſe, vel per apoſtolos et prophetas in Novo et Vetere Teſtamento, et omnes articulos definitos atque editos in generalibus Conciliis. Et jam venio ad id quod maximum eſt, quod majorem conſcientiæ dolorem quam unquam antea quicquam affert." Huc cum veniſſet, quia ſecus quam ipſe ſcripſerat locutus eſt, primo quid erat ſcriptum, deinde quid dixerit oſtendam. Erat vero ſcriptum; illud quod tantopere conſcientiam male haberet, eſſe falſos libros et ſcripta contra veritatem Verbi Dei edita, "quæ nunc, inquit, abdico, condemno et penitus repudio, tanquam omnino erronea neque a me perſcripta. Cæterum et illud ſcire vos oportet,

quinam libri fuerint, ut ab eis poſſitis vobis cavere, alioquin conſcientiæ meæ non ſatisfacerem. Sunt enim ii libri quos contra ſacramentum altaris ſcripſi poſt obitum regis Henrici VIII., ſed quicquid tum ſcripſi, nunc et tempus et locus eſt quod verum ſit dicendi. Itaque renuncians et abdicans omnes eos libros et quicquid in his continetur, dico et credo quod Servator noſter Chriſtus Jeſus realiter ac ſubſtantialiter continetur in benedicto ſacramento altaris ſub ſpecie panis et vini." Hæc, inquam, omnia tam explicata in charta ſcripta erant. Cæterum ille eo loco quem ſuperius notavi, non chartam ſed errorem ſolitum ſecutus, percrebreſcere aiebat rumores, eoſque Londini diſſipatos, ſe chartis ſubſcripſiſſe, in quibus Papam caput Eccleſiæ multaque alia fateretur; quod feciſſet ipſe quidem, ſed mortis metu, ac non quod ita ſentiret;

neque enim Papæ ſe obſecuturum. Tum ſubito exalbeſcit, neque veſtigium lacrymarum in oculis aut in vultu ullum poſtea extabat. Quærit ab eo Dominus Williamus, ſui-ne compos eſſet, quidque ageret probe meminiſſet. "Probe," inquit. "Non illa," inquit Williamus, "perfida manu te ab iſtis erroribus vindicabis." Et ſimul præfectus urbis [1] (jubet) ut abduceretur; lictores inclamati; ſit fremitus populi eo major quod et multi nihil admodum audirent et alii aliis quid actum eſſet exponerent, hii execrarentur, illi gauderent, omnes magno impetu e templo ſe ejicerent, ad palumque et ignem feſtinarent. Cranmerus interim tanta celeritate interjectum ſpatium percurrit, ut vix quiſquam conſequi poſſet.

De via Joannes frater hominem

[1] *urbi*, MS., which ſeems to be a correction of the word *jubet*.

alloquitur admonetque ut ſe colligeret, nec ita deſperata mente moreretur. Cui Cranmerus: "Apage," inquit, "hic homo vult ut Papam Eccleſiæ caput credam eſſe, cum tyrannus ſit potius."

"Profecto," inquit Joannes, "ſi tuum caput tibi concederet, eum caput libenter fatereris." Intervallo aliquo reſpondit Cranmerus: "Ita," inquit, "ſi vitam ſervaſſet, ejus ego legibus fuiſſem obſecutus." Cum idem Joannes inſtaret quod eo die ſacerdoti ſe aperuiſſet: "Quid," inquit, "an confeſſio non bona eſt?" Jam ad locum pervenerant fatalem; toga ſe ſtatim exuit, ibi palam aperteque iterum denunciat, ſi vivere licuiſſet, tum papæ, tum regum legibus ſe fuiſſe ſaltem ſine cujuſque offenſione obtemperaturum. D. Williamus palinodiæ exemplum aufert, quod in ſinu habebat, ſuo chirographo ſignatum, uti publice aperteque recita-

ret; tum manu iis qui aderant porrecta, ex quibus tamen quidam avertebant ſe, ad palum alligatus: "Video," inquit, "cœlos apertos et Jeſum ſtantem à dextris Dei."

O maledicum et execrabilem mendacii arrogantiæque ſpiritum! Illi, ut cœlum diſcederet, etiamſi bonam cauſam defendiſſet, (et in mala quid putamus!) dilatavit potius infernus os ſuum. Sed Cranmerus dextera indigne porrecta jubebat ut ea quæ princeps peccaſſet, prima etiam pœnam ſentiret, hoc ſolo imitatus virum, quam ad ſe poſtea retrahere an flagraret prætendit. Ipſe flammas novans,[1] cibum, aut, ut aliqui judicabant, ſanguinem ejiciens, e vita exceſſit undecimo Cal. Aprilis. 1555 ad meridiem.

Poſt cujus mortem, illud, meo quidem judicio non veriſimile, ſed tamen accidiſſe dicitur, ut oſſibus jam

[1] *Sic* in MS.

exuſtis, cor multo ſanguine membraniſque extorum ita involutum reperiretur, ut aperiri niſi magna vi non poſſet, apertum autem formam retinebat, niſi quod[1] ipſo igne ambuſtum exſiccatumque concavas habere viſum eſt inanitates, idque ab iis proditum eſt qui non ſe opinari, ſed et vidiſſe et manu contrectaſſe, pugioneque inſpiciendi cauſa transfixiſſe confirmabant, utrum uſque eo lapideum et durum fuiſſe ut igni non incenderetur.

De Germanico Suetonius narrat cremati cor inter oſſa incorruptum reſtitiſſe, quia veneno[2] eſſet necatus: eam enim cordis naturam exiſtimari, ut veneno infectum igne confici non queat. Huic autem hæreſis venenum fuit, an vero cardiaco morbo laboraſſe eum dicemus? quo qui afficiuntur neque illis cor deflagrat. Is igitur eſſe potuit quo tenebatur ad quintum

[1] *quo* in MS. [2] *venio* in MS.

Calend. Februarii, cum in terram ſine omni pene ſenſu concidit, præſertim quando ipſe id[1] malum neque novum, neque inopinatum ſibi contigiſſe eo tempore dixiſſet.

Sic ergo vita functo Cranmero, ut vulgus hunc exitum demonſtraſſe crinitam ſtellam loqueretur, boni autem ſempiternam infamiæ notam ejus nomini inuſtam non ambigerent, Zuingliani vero, tametſi laudare non poterant, tamen ereptam Catholicis offam, id vero ſerio, triumpharent, e re fore viſum eſt ut Colus pro ſua gravitate atque eloquentia animos inſolentium hominum concione convocata debilitaret ac frangeret. Ergo poſtridie in roſtra conſcendens rationem et modos ſtrictim expoſuit quibus cacodæmon, communis Chriſtiano generi hoſtis eccleſiam omni tempore vexaſſet; nam poſt ſalutem in ligno crucis

[1] *ad* in MS.

partam, ad Maxentii et Maximini tempora, quid vi, quid gladio, quid mortis terrore efficere poſſet expertum fuiſſe, qua cum non ſuccederet, aliam tectiorem et occultiorem ingreſſus viam, opinionum varietates maxime diſſeminandas curavit; inde illa tot hæreticorum monſtra in orbem procreata, quibus tamen Chriſti virtute ac fortitudine oppreſſis, ad majorem pietatis ſimulationem dæmon ſe convertit, ut angelum lucis æmulatus, multa viſa Chriſtianis, partim in ſomniis, partim etiam vigilantibus objiceret; quâ peſte Gerſonis doctiſſimi viri ætate perturbatam eccleſiam fuiſſe. Nunc autem omnes eum ſuas artes in unum quaſi cumulum conjeciſſe videri, ut hominum quoque ingenia naturaſque mutaverit, ut Cranmerus qui in honore expetendo ambitioſus, in aſſequendo perjurus, aſſentator in conſervando et hæreticus fuiſſet, is in morte, quo

tempore apertiſſimi eſſe homines deberent callidus diſſimulator exiſteret. Aut[1] ſit martyr aut omnino vir probus ſit hic. Martyrum ea ſolet eſſe laus quod Chriſti unius cauſa fortunas, amicos, opes, vitam parvi ducentes in quotidianos crudeliſſimorum regum impetus, in periculoſas dimicationes, in cruciatus corporis, in omnia mortis pericula caput ſuum objecerunt; hic ut vitam ad paucos an menſes, an dies, an etiam horas produceret, ea quæ certiſſima eſſe ſtatuerat religionis ſuæ fundamenta, verbo, manu, facto negavit, quærimus aliquid gravius: in ipſo mortis articulo et momento, ſi vita daretur, ſe Papæ leges obſervaturum dixit, et ſine controverſia; ſi dominus Williamus veniam ſupplicii feciſſe potuiſſet, iterum ſententiam revocaturus fuiſſet. Tamenne martyr eſt hic, annon potius hæreticorum omnium dedecus, factionis ſuæ

[1] *Hoc* in MS.

pernicies, ludibrium dæmonis, immane in terris monſtrum habèri debet? nam cui poſthac hæretico reginam putatis fidem eſſe habituram? Tantum eſt in principis hæretici factis pondus et momentum? Nihil de Joanne Roffenſi audiſtis ſimile, nihil de Thoma Moro; in vita ſanctiſſimi in morte conſtantiam præſtiterunt. Quare temperarent hæretici verbis prudentiæ inaniſſimis? de Cranmero quo ſe intolerantius jactarent nihil eſſe, reſpuerent potius exitiales errores, ad eccleſiam in qua ſola ſalus eſt, dum integrum eſſet, dum aliquis ſalutari pœnitentiæ daretur locus, redirent.

Et Colus quidem graviſſimam concionem hoc modo. Ego autem ingratam injucundamque narrationem ſic concludo: Deus optime, maxime, quem initio teſtabar, nunc eundem obteſtans, ut bonorum potius vitam atque inſtituta mihi poſthac exornare

liceret, quam ſceleratorum nefaria crimina literis perſtringere neceſſe ſit.

FINIS.

THE MONCKTON PAPERS.

EDITED BY EDWARD PEACOCK, F.S.A.

PREFATORY.

I HAVE to return my beſt thanks in my own name, and that of my nephew, Viſcount Galway, to that erudite antiquarian, Mr. Edward Peacock, for his careful tranſcription and editing of the Monckton Papers. The tract appended to them reſpecting the fight in Willoughby Fields is of exceeding rarity. I wiſh that the conditions of our Society permitted it to prefix an engraving of the fine full-length portrait of Sir Philip Monckton by Sir Peter Lely, which adorns the dining-room of Lord Galway's reſidence at Serlby Hall in Nottinghamſhire.

HOUGHTON.

PREFACE.

THE following pages are an imprint of manuſcripts in the poſſeſſion of the Right Hon^ble Viſcount Galway, the repreſentative of Sir Philip Monckton. They exiſt in two copies—the original manuſcripts, and a careful tranſcript made by a female member of the houſe ſome fifty years ago. It will be noticed that the documents are not printed in ſtrict chronological order. This it was conſidered was but a ſlight drawback in ſo ſmall a volume. It

was felt that reverence for the memory of her who arranged them, and as it may be truly ſaid, prepared them for the preſs, though probably the idea of their being printed did not occur to her, demanded that they ſhould appear in the order in which ſhe had left them.

The preſent editor's work has been for the moſt part merely mechanical. He has in nearly every inſtance compared the originals with the modern copy, and corrected the very few miſreadings which he found therein. For ſuch notes as appear at the bottom of the pages he is alone reſponſible. Their number might have been greatly increaſed, but with doubtful advantage. Thoſe who read theſe pages will know where to go for further knowledge ſhould they deſire minute information as to the perſons and places incidentally mentioned.

The firſt article in the Appendix is an imprint of a tranſcript made by the editor of a printed tract of great rarity. He cannot now trace the copy which was for a ſhort time in his hands, but examples of the original exiſt in more than one of our great public libraries.

It may be well to mention that Viſcount Galway poſſeſſes a fine full-length portrait of Sir Philip, painted by Van Dyck, an enamelled ring ſet with brilliants with a ruby in the centre, given to his anceſtor Sir Philip, after the battle of Naſeby, by Charles I., and the helmet which he was accuſtomed to wear. Some peerages aſſert (among others, *Debrett*, 1829, vol. ii., p. 829), that in conſideration of Sir Philip Monckton's "ſufferings and ſervices, Charles II., in 1656, wrote him a letter with his own hand, promiſing that, if God reſtored him, Sir Philip ſhould ſhare

with him." This letter, if it ever exiſted, ſeems to have been loſt. It is not known to exiſt among the archives at Serlby or elſewhere.

E. P.

Bottesford Manor,
1 *Nov.*, 1884.

MONCKTON PAPERS.

MONCKTON PAPERS.

MARMADUKE MONCKTON Eſquire of Cavill Hall near Howden, was the eldeſt ſon and heir of Chriſtopher Monckton Eſq. and in 1571 married Elizabeth ſecond daughter of Matthew Wentworth Eſq. of Bretton Co. York by whom he had Philip, John, (of Garton and Burland) and other children. Philip the eldeſt, was baptized at Eaſtrington April 1574, knighted 1617, buried at Eaſtrington 1646, having married Martha eldeſt daughter and co-heir of Francis Sutton Eſq of Sutton near Macclesfield by whom he had Sir Francis Monckton knighted at York 25 June 1642 of Cavill and Sutton; married Margaret daughter

of Thomas Savile Eſq of Northgate Head, Wakefield and coheir of her nephew William Savile. The marriage was ſolemnized at Horbury Jan^{y} 1619.

Sir Francis and Lady Monckton had ſeveral Children & reſided at Cavill Hall. Their eldeſt ſon Philip (who wrote the ſubjoined memoir) was knighted at Newcaſtle 1644 and ſerved in the Army of King Charles the firſt, and ſuffered ſeverely in conſequence. His will is dated 7 February 1678, proved at York 12 April 1679. Sir Philip Monckton married Anne eldeſt daughter of Robert Eyre Eſq of High Low Derbyſhire, whoſe deſcendants now enjoy the Earldom of Newburgh. [Another branch.]

Sir Philip Monckton K^{t} had two ſons and one daughter. The youngeſt ſon William Monckton was a Lieutenant in the Navy & ſlain before Barcelona in 1706, he died

unmarried. His eldeſt brother Robert Monckton Eſq of Cavill, and of Hodroyd (jure uxoris) was the eldeſt ſon and heir of Sir Philip Monckton Knight, and married Theodoſia the eldeſt daughter and Coheir of John Fountayne Eſq by Elizabeth Monckton his wife, who was born in 1651 and was the ſole ſurviving iſſue of John Monckton Eſq of High Melton, Yorkſhire a Major of Foot in the army of King Charles the firſt, and married Mary, daughter of Samuel Oldfield Eſq of Oldfield 1641. This John Monckton Eſq died about 1653, and his daughter Elizabeth not only inherited his property, but that of her aunt Mrs Mary Berrie of Hodroyd, &c &c whoſe huſband Marmaduke Monckton Eſq took the name of Berrie, in 1651, on his marriage, but did not leave iſſue. He was Captain of foot alſo in King Charles's Army, and ſo was another brother of John

& Marmaduke, Sir Edmond Monckton, who ſerved in the Civil Wars. William the eldeſt of the four brothers, died unmarried before 1665, conſequently John, the next ſon of the firſt mentioned John Monckton Eſq of Garton & Burland, inherited the paternal property and reſided at High Melton. His widow Mrs Mary Monckton was living at the time their only child Elizabeth, married John Fountayne Eſq in 1666.

Robert Monckton Eſq. received a Commiſſion as Captain in the Regiment of foot commanded by Viſcount Mordaunt, the 10th of Novr 1688 ſigned by the Prince of Orange, King William 3d and was for ſome years one of the Commiſſioners of Trade in the reign of Queen Ann, and ſerved in ſeveral parliaments for Pontefract and Aldborough in Yorkſhire. He died in Novr 1722 and was interred in the Vault at Felkirk.

His eldeſt ſon John (by Theodoſia the daughter of John Fountayne Eſq) of Cavill, Hodroyd, Burland &c. was in 1727 Created by King George the ſecond, Baron of Killard in the County of Clare and Viſcount Galway of the Kingdom of Ireland. His Lordſhip purchaſed the Eſtate of Serlby in the County of Nottingham, the preſent reſidence of the family; and married firſt Lady Elizabeth Manners fourth daughter of John Duke of Rutland by whom he had three ſons, and one daughter who died young. William the eldeſt, was afterwards the ſecond Viſcount, Robert his next brother was a Major General and upon the death of General Wolfe before Quebec in 1759 the command of the Britiſh army in North America, devolved upon him. The third ſon was John, who died young. Lord Galway married ſecondly, Jane daughter of Henry Warner Weſternra Eſq of

Queens County Ireland, by Eleanor ſiſter of John firſt Viſcount Allen. Lord Galway had ſeven children by his ſecond marriage, three of whom died young. His Lordſhip repreſented Clithero & Pontefract in different Parliaments, & held various honorable appointments under Government. He died in 1751 and was depoſited in the family Vault at Felkirk near Hodroyd, and was ſucceeded in his titles and eſtates by his eldeſt ſon William, who married Elizabeth only daughter of Joſeph Da Coſta Villa Real Eſq by whom he had John who died in the twenty-firſt year of his age in 1769. Henry William who in 1772 ſucceeded his father, and alſo repreſented Pontefract in Parliament till his death; dying unmarried in 1776 was ſucceeded by his youngeſt brother Robert, the fourth Viſcount, who married firſt Elizabeth daughter of Daniel Mathew Eſq of Felix Hall,

Eſſex by whom he had nine children ſix of whom ſurvived him and ſecondly Mrs Drummond the relict of P. A. Drummond Eſq, ſon of Dr Drummond Archbiſhop of York. Lord Galway was one of His Majeſty's Privy Counſellors, Knight of the Bath, and repreſented York and Pontefract in different Parliaments beſides other honorable appointments. At his death in 1810 his Lordſhip was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon William George Monckton Arundell fifth Viſcount Galway, married to Catherine Elizabeth Handfield in 1804, the only ſurviving iſſue of the late Captain George Handfield of the 40th Regiment of Foot, by Elizabeth the only daughter of the late Reverend Sir William Smyth Baronet of Hill Hall, Eſſex. He died in 1834 and was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon George Edward Arundell 6th Viſcount. He married Henrietta E. daughter of

R. P. Milnes Eſq. & ſiſter of 1st Lord Houghton, and repreſented Eaſt Retford in Parliament from 1847 till his death in 1876, when he was ſucceeded by his only ſon, George Edmund Milnes Monckton Arundell. The preſent Viſcount has repreſented North Notts in Parliament ſince 1872, and in 1879 married Vere, only daughter of the late Ellis Goſling, Eſq., of Burbidge Hall, Surrey.

The following particulars relate to Lord Galway, bearing the name and arms of Arundell:—

John the ſecond Lord Arundell of Treriſe married firſt Margaret daughter and ſole heir of Sir John Ackland Columb John, Devon, Knight, by whom he had Iſſue John, his ſon & ſucceſſor & a daughter Gertrude, who married Sir Bennet Hoſkins Baronet of the County of Hereford. Lord Arundell ſecondly married Barbara daughter of Sir Henry Slingſby, Bart of the

County of York (widow of Sir Richard Mauleverer, Bar^{t}), by whom his Lordſhip had iſſue Richard. Lady Arundell afterwards married Thomas Herbert Earl of Pembroke.

Richard, Lord Arundell's ſecond ſon married in 1732 Lady Frances Manners, daughter of John ſecond Duke of Rutland, by his firſt wife Catherine ſecond daughter of William Lord Ruſſell, the celebrated Patriot who was beheaded in 1683, and ſiſter to Wriotheſly Duke of Bedford. The Ducheſs died in childbirth in 1711, having had iſſue five ſons and three daughters, the youngeſt of whom married the 1st Viſcount Galway. Some intereſting particulars on this ſubject are preſerved in the letters of her excellent Mother Lady Rachel Ruſſell.

Sir Richard Mauleverer Bar^{t} of Allerton Mauleverer in the County of York died unmarried in 1713

and left his eſtates to his half-brother the Honorable Richard Arundell, before mentioned, who died without leaving iſſue and by his will dated 1756 bequeathed all his Eſtates in Devon, Cornwall, & Middleſex, as well as thoſe in Yorkſhire, & perſonal property to his wife Lady Frances Arundell for ever. She died in 1769 and in her will dated 1794 deſired to be interred in her Church at Allerton Mauleverer as near her late dear huſband & daughter as might be, whoſe bodies her Ladyſhip deſires may be removed thither from Boſworth in Leiceſterſhire. Lady Frances Arundell bequeathed all the above eſtates and her perſonal property, including ſome fine pictures by Mytens and Vandyke, to her nephew William Monckton, the ſecond Viſcount Galway and his heirs, upon condition of taking the arms & name of Arundell, for which, permiſſion was granted

by His Majeſty King George the third the 22nd December 1769. His Lordſhip's mother was Lady Elizabeth Manners, youngeſt ſiſter of Lady Frances Arundell. And thus as the Viſcounts Galway have come to the title, they have taken the name & arms of Arundell.

Robert Monckton Arundell the fourth Viſcount Galway, ſold the Eſtate of Allerton Mauleverer to the Duke of York, who reſold it to Colonel Thornton of ſporting celebrity, who diſpoſed of it to the late Lord Stourton, and it is the preſent reſidence of that noble Family. 1823.

The following is a copy of Sir Philip Monckton's Memoir, in his own writing, in the poſſeſſion of the preſent Viſcount Galway.

" My Grandfather my father with " myſelfe had the honour of Knight- " hood and ſequeſtration for ſome " years. My father was one of the

" firſt that came to waite upon the " King when he retired to York, " when he lent him money, and was " engaged in bonds for him to ye " value of 20,000*l.*

" He was one of the eleven gentle- " men that at the inſtance of M^r^ " Endimion Porter did petition the " King to take a gaurde for w^ch^ " the Parl^t^ ſent a ſervant for them " and his houſe being under the in- " fluence of Hull he was forct to " leave it, and loſt the benefit of his " eſtate for ſeaven years. All my " family ſerved the King and my " ſecond Brother was ſlaine in the " warr. I had the honour to be " eldeſt Cap^t^ of Sir Tho: Metham's " Reg^t^ of foote when the late King " went to block up Hull, where I " had the fortune to command the " firſt party, y^t^ gave fier in that " warr.

" Sir Will: Throckmorton late " Knight Marſhall was Comiſſary

" General of Horſe to his Grace of
" Newcaſtle at ye battle of Aderton
" Moore,[1] of which Battle he hath
" often ſaide that if I did not winn
" the day I ſaved it and that which
" I did was not by Chance but
" Conduct.

" I had my ſhare (in regaineg at
" Corbrig[2]) that honour ye Engliſh
" loſt at Newburne for which his
" Grace of Newcaſtle was pleaſed to
" honour me (with ſome others)
" with knighthood: The retreat y^t^
" was made from ye Scotts at ye
" Battle of Bowden Hills I made
" haveing ye Commande of fower
" hundred horſe for the Gaurde of
" the left wing as Maior Jackſon
" had for the right wing, but he being
" preſently beaten by the forlorne of

[1] Adwalton or Adderton Moor, five miles from Bradford. Here the Earl of Newcaſtle defeated Lord Fairfax (Ferdinando) on 31ſt of June, 1643.

[2] About four miles eaſt of Hexham.

" Scotts that came againſt him I
" was drawne to the rear of the body
" of the Army, which was to march
" a mile and a halfe in a plaine Cam-
" pania in faire day, before the Scotch
" Army before it came to defcend a
" hill in the incloſure.

" Both the fforlornes concentred
" againſt me and I made good the
" retreat without ye los of a man,
" untill I came at ye Brinke of ye
" Hills where they fell in to ye reare
" of the laſt body y^t^ drew of and
" purſued it in to ye Incloſure
" (where all moſt all our Army was
" in confuſſion) but theſe weere re-
" pulſed by two parties that I had
" ſent in before: upon which the
" body of their horſe came downe
" upon us in that diſorder, and had
" routed our Army but for S^r^ Wil-
" liam Hudleſtone's Regiment of
" foote.

" Upon our retreat to Yorke the
" Scotts followed us, and my Lord of

" Newcaſtle ſent away his horſe to
" Newarke under the conduct of S^r
" Charles Lucas which he performed
" ſo excellently, in the face of the
" Scotch & Fairfax's Armys that he
" ſuſtained noe loſſe. From thence
" I was ſent by General Gooreing
" to the Prince to Shrewſbury to
" ſollicit him to relieve Yorke in
" w^ch I rann many hazards in paſſeing
" by ſeveral of ye Enemyes Gar-
" riſons:

" At the battle of Heſſey[1] Moore I
" had my horſe ſhott under me, as I
" caracold at the head of the body I
" commanded, and ſoe neare the
" enemyes, that I could not be
" mounted againe, but charged on
" foote and beate S^r. Hugh Bethels
" Regm^t of horſe: who was wounded
" and diſmounted, and my ſervant
" brought me his horſe.

" When I was mounted upon him,

[1] Marſton Moor.

" the wind driveing the ſmoake ſoe as
" I could not ſee what became of the
" body that I commanded, which
" went in purſuite of ye enemy, I
" retired over the flow, where I ſaw
" a body of ſome two thouſand horſe
" that ware broaken, which as I en-
" deavored to rally, I ſaw S^r^. John
" Hurry (Maior General to the
" Prince) come gallopeing through
" the flow; I rid to him and told
" him, that there was none in that
" great body, but they knew either
" himſelfe, or me, and that if he
" would helpe me, to put them
" in order, we might regaine the
" feild: He told me broaken horſe
" would not fight and galloped from
" me toward Yorke: I returned to
" that body, by that time it was
" night, and S^r^ Marmd. Langdale
" haveing had thoſe bodies he com-
" manded broaken, came to me and
" wee ſtaied in the feild untill twelve

" o'clock at night, that S^r^ John
" Maſſey came by order of the
" Prince to commande us to retire
" to Yorke:

" In that great action (the releiſe
" of Pontefract) I had ſome ſhare.
" Att ye Battle of Naiſeby, where I
" had three horſes kild under me
" I ſtaide with the laſt in the feild
" and the retreat that was made I
" made it, the purſuit beeing of ten
" miles continuance: at the end of
" which I beat the Enemyes fforlorne
" w^ch^ was commanded by two Cap^ts^
" of S^r^ Robert Pyes Reg^t^ ye one of
" which was ſlaine and the other I
" brought priſoner to ye king at
" Leiceſter. Att the battle of
" Rowton heath: after ſeveral con-
" flicts with Pointz, it came to Ser
" Marmaduke Langdale's Brigade,
" (which I commanded) to charge,
" with which I propoſed to enter
" upon Pointz his grounde: which

" Sr Marmd thought feaſeable, but " haveing ſignals ſufficient for a " victory, and beeing peremptorily " commanded to keepe his grounde " untill a certaine houre, that wee " weere commanded to march to " aſſault the Enimy in the ſuburbs " of Cheſter, he thought he could " not anſwer it although he had the " fortune to beat Pointz.

" After we had fou't the Enimy " ſeveral houres; when the time " came for our marcheing to Cheſter " I was commanded of out of the " midle of a laine where I was " drawne up, betwixt a heath that " Pointz ſtoode upon and Rowton " heath: As ſoon as I was drawne " up and yt wee begune our Route " towards Cheſter, Pointz came upon " our grounde: and both horſe and " foote came to his aide from " Cheſter, which forced us to face " aboute and fight.

"In my advanceing to Charge Coll "Graves his Reg[t] of Reformads[1] I "received three voles[2] of ſhot from "the Cheſter foote that were plainted "in hedges upon my left hand, "which ſoe ſhattered my body that "they did not ſeconde me when I "preſt into the enimyes, where I "had my horſe killed under me and "was hurt.

"In the inſurrection that was "made in forty eight, in the ab-

[1] Reformados were troops made up of officers and privates from diſbanded regiments. Ben Jonſon gives us a ſtriking picture of a reformado of his days.

"Into the likeneſs of one of theſe reforma-"dos had he moulded himſelf ſo perfectly, "obſerving every trick of their action, as vary-"ing the accent, ſwearing with an emphaſis, "indeed all with ſo ſpecial and exquiſite a grace "that, hadſt thou ſeen him, thou wouldſt have "ſworn he might have been ſerjent-major, if "not lieutenant-colonel to the regiment."—*Every Man in his Humour*, Act iii. Sc. ii. Cf. *Commons Journals*, vol. ii. p. 40.

[2] Volleys.

"ſence of Sr Marmd. Langdale I
" had the command of Yorkeſh, but
" for his Majeſtys ſervice I was
" willing to wave that honour and
" made a triumvirate of that Com-
" mande by making Maior Generall
" Byron and Coll Robert Portington
" ſharers with me becauſe I thought
" they would be moare diligent in
" the ſervice having an equall con-
" cerne with me, than under my
" commande.

" Haveing an invitation in to
" Lincolnſhire, where wee weere
" promiſed a conjunction of forces
" out of Norfolke Leiceſterſh & that
" Countrey, wee marcht to Lincolne,
" where wee tooke the Pallace by
" ſtorme with two hundred men and
" a good quantity of arms & am-
" munition, with which wee marcht
" towards Kegworth in Leiceſter-ſh
" where wee were promiſed a con-
" junction of forces of that Countrey,

" and Darby=ſh Lincolne=ſh & Nor-
" folke having failed us;

" But wee weere over taken in
" the feilds of Willoughby by Coll
" Roſſiter who ſoe over numbred us
" that wee were forct to draw all the
" men we had into one front, and
" haveing noe reſerves though we
" forced thoſe we charged, to recoyle,
" yet his reſerves ſtoode firme and
" advanced upon us, and routed us
" beeing diſordered with the charge
" wee made upon his firſt line, which
" fought obſtinately.

" I was not recovered of the
" wounde of my right arme, that
" I got at Rowton heath, and was
" forc^t to manage my horſe with
" my left in which I was wounded
" and taken priſoner. I ſuffer^d
" many longe and chargeable im-
" priſonments dureing his Maties
" exilement and had beene ſent a
" ſclave to Jamaica if God had

"not prevented it by Oliver's "death.

"When the Lord Delamoore[1] made "that inſurrection in Cheſhire I had "a party of horſe and foote ready in "Yorke to have ſurprized a porte "as ſome confederates in the Countrey "had deſiered me which had been "done, if they had comed with five "hundred horſe as they promiſed. "When the General[2] declared in "Scottland and ſent a letter to M[r] "Bowles the Miniſter at Yorke by "S[r] Thomas Clerges with another to "the Lord ffairfax and deſiered them "to get Yorke for him and that he "would be with them within twelve "dayes or periſh.

"They did me the honour as to

[1] Sir George Booth, Bart., created baron Delamer of Dunham Maſſey, Cheſhire, 20th April, 1661. Died 1684. He was the leader of what is known as the Cheſhire riſing.

[2] General Monck.

" communicate the buſineſs to me,
" and deſierd the concurrence of my
" Councell, in the carrying on of that
" affaire.

" Some ſcruples that they had,
" concerneing the inſurrection, I
" cleared unto them, and my Lord
" deſireing of me to engage S^r^ Hugh
" Bethel in the action, upon the
" king's account I ſent Captaine
" Bacon to him to let him know
" what my Lord General, and what
" my Lord ffairfax deſierd:

" And withall that I had noe
" Commiſſion from the king to aſhure
" him that he ſhould not looſe thoſe
" landes he had of the Crowne by
" reſtoreing of the King: in which
" his concurrence with my Lord
" Fairfax would deſerve better as
" I told him. Yet to free him
" from any ſhuch apprehention,
" I would give him as much
" of my owne eſtate, in lieu of

" it if he pleaſed to joyne with my
" Lord:

" He generouſly gave me thankes
" and with all ſent me woorde that
" he would not onely adventure that,
" but all the reſt that he had for the
" reſtoring of his Maty

" I told Mr Bowles, Sr Henry
" Cholmely and ſeveral others, that I
" conſulted with, that whatever had
" beene our animoſities, we ought
" now to lay them aſide, and unite
" both our hartes and handes to pre-
" ſerve ourſelves, for Lambert would
" draw the Quakers into his Army
" and that beeing done, he would
" ſecure all the emminent Proteſ-
" tants both for king and Parliamt,
" and after declare himſelfe both
" King and Papiſt and ſoe at one
" blow cutt of all his Maties freindes
" both at home and abroade

" This as it was then dangerous for
" me to ſpeak of that peeveiſh fellow

" and great enemy of his Maieſty:
" for it had as great an influence
" upon thoſe I ſaide it to, to animate
" them to ſtirr.

" The Quakers had given out there
" orders, (ſeverall of which weere
" intercepted) to Rendezvous at Coll
" Lilburne's houſe in the New parke
" neare Yorke upon the firſt day of
" the firſt moneth (as they called it)
" where Lambert as himſelfe had
" ſaide at Yorke in his paſſage to
" Newcaſtle there would be ten
" thouſand.

" Butt this was luckely prevented
" by the riſing of my Lord Fairfax
" upon ye thirtieth of December

" Which was ſooner than was de-
" ſigned but was thus occaſioned. I
" earneſtly and daly preſt that ye
" Generall might be adviſed of my
" Lord Fairfax's his intentions leſt his
" little Army ſhould faint and fall
" from him in ye face of ſoe great a

" force as Lambert had. And to that
" end two brave men weere pitcht
" upon viz: M^r^ Bryan Fairfax to
" goe through Weſtmorland and
" Cumberland and Cap^t^. Bacon by
" Newcaſtle:

" Bacon haveing beene Lamberts
" officer formerly and ſaved his
" liberty, if not his life in Scotland,
" went (like himſelfe) boldly to
" Newcaſtle where he thought to
" have paſſed further, but was
" arreſted.

" Fairfax had better fortune and
" got to the Generall at Coldſtreame
" where he received him with the
" greateſt joy imaginable. His Army
" had ſhuch neede of this cordiall
" in that cold Countrey and ſeaſon
" that it was not fitt to keepe it from
" them by which meanes Lambert
" got knowledge of it and im-
" mediately upon it commanded Coll
" Lilburne away to Yorke with 500

" commanded horſe the beſt men
" he told Lilburne y^t^ he could chuſe
" out of his whole Army, and farther
" told him that if thoſe with ye 500
" foote 120 horſe that weere in garri-
" ſon there weere not ſufficient to
" ſecure Yorke let him know, and
" he ſhould have the whole fifty, for
" Yorke he muſt not looſe.—

" Lilburne comes away with theſe
" and a great confidant of Lamberts
" with him, a Cap^t^ of horſe called
" Turner a Quaker they had order
" to ſeize the Lord Fairfax, w^ch^ forc^t^
" him ſooner to riſe than he in-
" tended.

" But upon his riſing he drew of
" Maior Smithſon of Lilburne's
" Reg^t^ who brought ſome troopes
" to my Lord: which with the
" newes of my Lord beeing up with
" the gentlemen of the Countrey
" and thoſe horſe that he had ſent
" with Lilburne made Lambert not

" onely incapable of ſtaying at New-
" caſtle but neceſſitated him to haſte
" to Yorke to get thither if poſſible
" before my Lord Fairfax ſhould
" ſeaſe of it.

" My Lord did preſently fore ſee
" that it was moore fit for me to ſtay
" with M^r^ Bowles in Yorke not
" onely to adviſe with him upon all
" occurrences, but to avoide that
" which had like to have loſt the
" whole deſigne, for ſome of the
" Army that joyned with him did
" highly Cavel at ſome old Cavaliers
" although they admit willingly the
" ſonnes of old Cavilliers.

" He deſiered me to ſend what
" aſſiſtance I could, which was
" twenty horſe well armed, and as
" well mounted, which I ſent to
" joyne with S^r^ Hugh Bethel under
" the conduct of my Couſin Cap^t^
" Edmund Monckton.

" Upon my Lord Fairfax^s^ ſending

" Mr Bowles worde that he would
" appear before the Towne at twelve
" o Clock upon New yeares day wee
" adviſed him to attaque a poſterne
" gate upon the ſouth ſide of the
" River: and wee would have muſ-
" queteers lodged in the houſe of
" Sr Thomas Widdrington on the
" North ſide of the River that ſhould
" ſcoure the line ſoe as his men
" might ſafely come to ye gate and
" force it.

" My Lord came before the
" Towne at his time prefixt, upon
" his appearance Lilburne cauſed the
" gates to be ſhutt and diſpoſed
" every man to his poaſte and cauſed
" patrooles of horſe perpetually to
" cavalcade the ſtreetes.

" After my Lord had beene before
" the towne two houres and did not
" attempt, as wee adviſed (wch was
" becauſe of ye late diſorder amongſt
" yem about ſome old Cavaliers)

" Mr Bowles who upon my Lords
" appearance had beene menaced by
" a patroole of horſe, that if he
" ſtirred out of his houſe he ſhould
" dye nevertheles he came by my
" houſe and gave me a ſignal to
" follow him to a garden where wee
" uſed to converſe.

" Bowles ſaide he wondred that
" my Lord did not attempt to enter
" and aſkt me what I thought of it,
" I told him I did feare that if the
" enimy had not ſome diverſion
" made by the Citizens, my Lord
" would not bee able to enter before
" Lambert would arrive who was
" marching with all the ſpeede
" imaginable. Mr Bowles deſierd
" me to ſend to the Cittizens to riſe
" which I did.

" They ſent me worde they weere
" ready but that they would not riſe
" with out me, and that I would
" head them.

"I told the Cittizens whome they "ſent to me y^t my appearing with "them might be a diſadvantage to "ye Service for the enimy might "happily ſay (for that) that it was a "Cavalier^s deſigne, which was not "to be owned untill the Citty weere "in ye poſſeſſion of my Lord or "Lamberts Army totally broaken:

"The Cittizens beeing poſitive "that they would not riſe with out "me I told them they ſhould finde "me in the Minſter for there was a "neceſſity that they muſt riſe and "therefore I bid them repaire to ye "Minſter upon the tooleing of the "great bell and I would diſguiſe my "being with them (upon deſigne) "as well as I could:

"I cauſed my Servantes to fill "there pockets with powder and ball "and went with them to ye Minſter "with my ſtick in my hande and "cauſed the bell to toole and got

" the keyes from the ſaxton and
" lockt up all the doores but thoſe
" that I told the Cittizens ſhould be
" open for them :

" By that time that ſome fifty
" men weere comed in to me, ſome
" that weere freindes to ye enimy
" addviſed the Maine gaurde that
" the Cittizens weere aſſembleing in
" the Minſter upon which five
" ſcoure foote came downe upon us
" with their matches cockt and
" lighted and a hundred horſe with
" ſwordes and piſtols in their handes
" thoſe Cittizens who by reaſon of
" this could not repaire to ye Minſter
" aſſembled in two other churches :

" It was God's good will that
" amongſt thoſe that weere in the
" Minſter there was an honeſt fellow
" called Robin Beeford who had a
" blunderbus and was armed with
" back breaſt and head peice : this
" honeſt brave fellow I plact as a

" Sentinell with out the ſouth doore
" of ye Minſter and bid him ſtand
" and not be afraide and I would
" keepe him company: but that
" when the Enimy was comed
" through that little Avenew where
" the booke binders live and begun
" to draw up in that little plaine
" which is with in twenty yards of
" ye doore he ſhould preſent his
" blunderbus: but by noe meanes
" give fire: and that he ſhould at
" the ſame time cry a Fairfax a free
" Parltt: and they in the Minſter
" to anſwer him with the greateſt
" noiſe they could make.

" I plact my ſelfe with in the
" doore where I ſtoode and ſaw the
" Capt come with his ſworde drawne
" in his hand, and his men followe-
" ing wt ther matches cockt and
" lighted: as my Sentinel preſented
" his blunderbus I immediately leapt
" from with in the doore and clapt

" hold of the dog [1] of the blunderbus
" and ſtoode with my hand upon it:
" by which it ſeemed to the Cap^t^. &
" his Souldiers that I had hindred
" the blunderbus from fiering upon
" them.

" Upon which the Cap^t^. made his
" men halt ſtandeing ready pre-
" ſented: ye Cap^t^ aſkt me what was
" the reaſon for ye Cittizens beeing in
" Armes: I told him that I was there
" but by accident, and he had ſeene
" how that I had prevented a great
" effuſion of blood for if it had not
" beene for me ye blunderbus had
" fier^d^ upon his men: I ſaide the
" Cittizens told me they weere there
" to facilitate the entrance of my
" Lord Fairfax: who was at ye gates
" with many gentlemen of ye County:
" and Maior Smithſon with ſome
" Troopes of ye Army and the Iriſh

[1] Hammer. See Admiral W. H. Smyth's *Sailar's Word Book, ſub voc.*

" Brigade: To whome his Lordſhip
" had given an aſhureance of there
" arrears, and of a rewarde alſoe for
" joyneing with him,

" And that he had ſent to Citti-
" zens to aſhure both ye officers and
" ſouldiers in the Citty: that they
" Should have the ſame conditions
" if they would joyne with him:
" upon which the Capt. saide yt if
" they might be aſhured of this by
" my Lord they would joyne with
" him: and that if I would goe
" alonge with him to my Lord that
" he might receive this aſhurance
" from him ſelfe: he would engage
" that I ſhould goe and returne with
" ſafety. And that noe thinge
" ſhould be attempted by his men
" againſt thoſe in the Minſter
" dureing my abſence: if I would
" likewiſe engage that noe thing
" ſhould be attempted by thoſe in the
" Minſter againſt his. I told him

" I would acquaint ye Cittizens with
" his overture: to whome I went
" and told what was propoſed: and
" that if there were any thinge of
" treachery I had raither expoſe my
" ſelfe to it than any of them and
" that if in my abſence they did
" attempt: then they muſt retire in
" to ye ſteeple: the many doores in
" the Minſter weere not to be made
" good: untill they weere attempted
" they ſhould keepe the gaurdes upon
" ye ſeveral doores as they weere:
" and that doore which was open
" full of there beſt men and that
" they ſhould ſuffer noe body to ſee
" what they weere: there beeing
" amongſt them very good men, and
" ſome that had beene officers: I
" went out to ye Cap^{t} and told him
" that the Cittizens did agree to what
" he propoſed: and that I would
" goe alonge with him, but that I
" was ſoe lame (haveing the goute

" in both my feete) that I could not
" with out my horſe, and therefore
" deſierd him to let me ſend one of
" my ſervantes to my houſe for one:
" who with my horſe brought me
" worde that my wiffe, who was
" very great of her firſt childe: and
" was willing to let me goe to ex-
" poſe my life to that hazard: was
" not able to containe her ſelfe upon
" heareing that wee weere goeing
" to fight, but broake from ſome
" Ladyes that weere comed to keep
" her Company: and rann in to the
" ſtreete and had comed to ye
" Minſter but that ſhe was carryed
" back by force:—

" As ſoone as I was mounted the
" Cap^{t} walkeing on foote by me, he
" made a paſſage through his foote
" for me who ſaluted me civilly, but
" upon our approach to ye horſe
" who had not ſeene what I had
" done the Cap^{t} that Commanded

" them cryed away with him, away
" with him, I ſaide hold S^r^ I am noe
" priſoner and for all you looke
" angerly at me, I am the beſt freind
" you have in towne for had it not
" beene for me who prevented the
" Blunderbus his fiering upon your
" men: as this Cap^t^ ſaw: there
" might have beene a great ſlaughter
" of your ſouldiers: and had I not
" likewiſe prevented, that conſider-
" able body of Cittizens in the
" Minſter from falling upon you,
" they would have beaten you up to
" ye gates, and let in my Lord Fair-
" fax, but now by my meanes you
" may have the ſame tearmes y^t^ the
" Iriſh Brigade hath: upon which I
" ſaw the Cap^t^ ſoe much calmed
" that with out danger of beeing
" denied I might aſke him to goe
" out of the way to ſee my wiffe w^ch^
" he aſſented to and went along with
" me and endeavoring to informe

" himſelfe what number of Citt[z]
" there weere in the Minſter: I told
" him they ſeemed to me very con-
" ſiderable: as I believed they did to
" ye foote Cap[t] upon their cry of a
" Fairfax a free Parlt.

" When I came to my houſe and
" went in with the foote Cap[t] ye
" Cap[t] of horſe galloped a way as he
" could towards the parte where my
" Lord was on ye out ſide as Lilburne
" was within:

" When I had ſtaied a little with
" my wiffe I got a horſe back and
" went to ye parte where I founde the
" Cap[t] of horſe and M[r] Martin Liſter,
" Lambert's Brother in law goeing
" with a paper of tearmes to my
" Lord Fairfax: upon which my
" Lord's Party was admitted with in
" few houres & M[r] Liſter went
" immediately away to Lambert who
" was that night at Ripon with his
" army.

"From whence he ſent a body of "four hundred horſe (to reinforce "the garriſon) under the Command "of Cap[t] Rockley: which came to "ye gates of ye towne about two of "ye clock in ye morning, and gave "an alarm to thoſe of my Lord's "Party within, but could not enter "before they diſperſed for although "Lilburne's garriſon was in towne, "thoſe that my Lord ſent in, com- "manded and kept gaurde and the "next morning turned Lilburne and "his horſe out of towne.

"As ſoon as Liſter came to Lam- "bert and told him what had "happened at Yorke he diſguiſed "himſelf immediately and left his "army. For the Generall came from "Coldſtreame with his little wee "army to Yorke.

"For that inſurrection that I was "in 48 I had beene put to death "with thoſe that ſufferd, but that

" my Lord Fairfax gave me my
" baniſhment and here, but for the
" hazard of that life, he ſaved, he
" had beene probably loſt and with
" him the General and the buſineſs.
" —His houſe being within ten
" miles of my fathers, I often pro-
" poſed it to the Kings agents after
" I was returned from baniſhment,
" that if I had commiſſion to him
" from the king, the one to deſire
" him, the other to empower him to
" command the kingdom, I would
" doe by him as Joyce did by the
" king at Holmby, bring him to any
" rendezvous they would appoint,
" and I did not doubte but by his
" beeing with us, we ſhould carry
" the cauſe without diſpute, as ye
" army did by ye influence of the
" kings power.

" I was ſeven yeares after the king
" was reſtored before I had any
" thinge, a trouble not to be ſpoke:

" and this I had from one for ſaveing
" the king and his brother from
" beeing aſſaſſinated, which they had
" beene in 62 if it had not beene
" for me and we had had another
" protector."

" Crab: Jeſſe: Weſt: Sapin:
" St Albans: Jenkins."

A Copy of a Letter from Colonel Roſſeter to the Lord Generall Fairfax in Favour of Sir Phillip Monckton then a Priſoner in Belvoir Caſtle dated Oct^r 9^th^ 1648.—

" May it Pleaſe your Excellencye.

" I have received your two lovinge
" letters.—Phillip Monckton now
" priſoner in Belvoir Caſtle, in aſſur-
" ance of whom I doe beg leave to
" repreſent your Lordſhip with his
" qualitie and his rank and his
" condition. His command was
" great, being by the enemye ſtyld
" generall of the forces gotten to-

" gether after the unfortunate ſur-
" priſal of Pontefract. He com-
" manded in chiefe of the Yorke
" forces, which came thence into this
" country, and was afterwards taken
" in the fighte at Willoughby; and
" ſince his impriſonment his carriage
" has manifeſted very much civility,
" and ariſing in me that beleefe, that
" your honour may in ſafety gratifie
" his wiſhes and his requeſt to your
" Lordſhip, without prejudice to
" your intereſt, being aſſured he is
" ſoe much a gentleman, that he
" will not infringe his friend's en-
" gagement or falſifie his own worde
" My Lord there is alſoe priſſoner
" with him, one Colonel Byron being
" taken up, who craves the like favor
" upon goode ſecurity, which I
" humbly ſubmit to your Excellencie
" and remaine my Lord
" Your moſt humble Servant
" Linc: 9th Octr E. R.—"

48

Red Seal containing twelve different quarterings and an Escutcheon of pretence.

"Suffer the bearer hereof S^r^ "Philippe Mountaine w^th^ his Ser- "vant Horses & necessaryes to passe "yo^r^ Guards to Gravesend And "thence to imbarque himselfe for "Callis w^th^ out lett hindrance or "molestation

"Given under my hande and seale "The 29^th^ of December 1648

"To all Officers & Souldiers "under my Command

"FAIRFAX"

"Copied this passe at Douver the "16^th^ of January 1648."

(Copy)

"Charles R:

"Wee straitly charge and Comand "you Francis Mounckton Esquire "nott to goe or remove out of this "County upon yo^r^ allegiance and

" paine of our heavy diſpleaſure uppon
" any occaſion or Comand Whatſo-
" ever, but ſtay and abide yer in for
" to attende our ſervice as wee ſhall
" direct, and hereby, wee likewiſe
" charge all our ſubjects and officers
" of what quality ſoever for to
" forbeare aſſeaſtinge or authoriſinge
" you, Francis Mounckton as they
" tender our Royall Comands and
" att their p'ill (peril).—

" Dated att our Court att Yorke
" the 28th of Aprill. 1642—"

" Protection to the Lady Margaret
" Monckton. (Copy)

" We the Generalls of the Scottiſh
" and Engliſh Armies for the King
" and Parliament in Accompliſhing
" of certaine articles concerning the
" condition of the Citty of Yorke doe
" hereby give protection to the Lady
" Margrett Mounckton of the Citty
" of Yorke, of freedome from all

" trouble and damage to her perſon
" eſtate familie and goods. And
" therefore wee require and Comand
" all Commanders Captaines and
" Souldiers under the Command of
" Us or any of Us, to forbear to
" moleſt or trouble either the perſon,
" houſe, familie, or goods of the ſaid
" Lady Margarett Mounckton as
" they will anſwer the contrary
" att there perril—And that ſhe, her
" familie, and goods may paſſe in
" ſafety from place to place according
" to there occaſions without Inter-
" ruption. Given under our hand
" att Yorke the fifteenth day of
" July 1644.—
(Signed) Leven"

" Copy. Lady Monckton's peti-
" tion.
" To the worp^ll^ the ſtanding
" Comittee for the Eaſt ryding.—
" The humble Petition of Dame

" Margaret Monckton wife of Sir
" Francis Monckton K^t on the behalfe
" of herſelfe and three children—
" Sheweth
" That S^r Phillip Monckton Kt
" by his deed dated 8^th November
" 19^th Ca: (Charles) granted to S^r
" William Wentworth & M^r Thos
" Wentworth of Bretton for a Month
" And then by Indenture dated the
" next day after were graunted to
" the ſame perſons & theire heires to
" the uſe of the petitioners huſband
" & his heires with reſervation for
" Sir Phillip that he may charge
" parte of the premiſes w^th 12£ p^r
" Ann for life. That by another
" deed dated 9^th Nov: 19: Ca: Sir
" Phillip Monckton leaſed his
" Manors of Cavill & Birland & all
" his lands there unto S^r Francis
" Monckton petin^rs ſaid huſband for
" 40 yeares, if S^r Phillip ſhould ſoe
" long live Reſerving there fore the

" yearely rent of 50^{li} at lady day &
" Michaelm^{s}. The Petin^{rs} requeſt
" is that ſhe may have allowance for
" maintenance of her ſelfe & chil-
" dren as well out of theſe lands as
" of all others S^{r} Francis his eſtate &
" farme the reſt upon ſuch con-
" ditions as the Com̄ittee uſeth to
" lett to others & likewiſe ſuch parte
" of her huſbands goods as the wiſ-
" dome of the Parliament hath
" minded."

The following is written in a different hand

" 26 September
" 1645. By the ſtanding Com̄ittee
" for the Eaſt ryding of the county
" of Yorke. The peti^{r} is allowed a
" fift parte of ye profitts of her
" huſband's eſtate, as it comes Into
" y^{e} Com̄onwealth And a fift pte of
" ye goods & may buy ye reſt as they
" apprized.

(Signed)
" Nicho Arlington "

" Copy. Goldſmiths hall. Att the
" Comittee for Compounding
" London. with Delinquents
" 3rd October 1646.

" Whereas by an order of the
" honoble houſe of Comons in Parlia-
" ment aſſembled of the 23d of Feb
" 1645 this Comittee are authorized
" and enabled to ſuſpend the Sequeſ-
" trations of ſuch Delinquents as
" ſhall Compound with the ſaid
" Comittee they having paid the
" moyety of ſuch Fine and given
" ſecurity for the other moyety and
" to ſtand to ſuch Compoſition as
" ſhall be allowed of or ſett by the
" houſe of Comons. Theſe are to
" certifie all whom it may concerne
" that Sr Francis Monckton of
" Holden (Howden) in the County
" of Yorke Knight hath accordingly
" appeared to this Comittee and ſub-
" mitted to the Fine impoſed on him
" in manner as by the ſaid Order is

" directed and ſecured the ſame.
" And hereof all Comittees Sequeſ-
" trators Collectors and other Officers
" are to take Notice and upon ſight
" hereof to conform thereunto and
" forbeare to proceed upon the Se-
" queſtration to the prejudice of the
" Eſtate reall or perſonall of the
" ſaid Sr Francis Monckton Com-
" pounded for according to a parti-
" cular thereof delivered under his
" hand A Coppie whereof is here-
" with ſent you. Unleſs there ſhall
" be any further Eſtate diſcovered
" not mentioned in the ſaid par-
" ticular. Provided all waies that the
" ſaid Sr Francis Monckton doe ſue
" forth with a Pardon Under the
" great Seale within ſix weekes after
" his Compoſition Compoſition ſhall
" be allowed of by both houſes of
" Parliament.

" HEN DARBY JOHN ASHE
" ROBERT JERMER

"RICH^{D} WARING.
"SAM: MOYER
"MICHAEL HEWING

"To the Committee of
"Parliament for the Eaſt-
"ryding of the County of
"Yorke And all others whom
"it may concerne.
"To: Leech."

"*Haberdaſhers hall.*
"Co: 797
"A true and full particular of the
"Eſtate real and perſonall of Sir
"Francis Monckton of Cavill in
"the County of Yorke Knight and
"Sir Phillip Monckton K^{nt} ſonne
"and heire apparent to the ſaid Sir
"Francis for which they deſire to
"compound.
"The ſaid S^{r} Francis
"Monckton is ſeized
"of an Eſtate of the
"Mannor of Little-

" thorpe in the P-iſh
" of Hayton for the
" Life of Sir William
" Conſtable Barnt and £
" after his deceaſe then 143 0 0
" to the uſe of Dame
" Dorothy his now
" wife and after her
" deceaſe then to the
" right heires of the
" ſaid Sir Francis for
" ever of the yearely
" value before theſe
" troubles.

" The ſaid Sir Francis is ſeized of " an Eſtate for life the remainder to " his wife for life the reverſion to " his right heires forever of and in " certaine Meſſuages Lands and tene- " ments in Howden Linton Staddle- " thorpe Birne and Newefholme in " the County of Yorke of the yearley " value before theſe troubles of one " hundred ſeaven pounds. The ſaid

" Sir Francis is ſeized of an eſtate to
" him and his heirs of in two
" tenem^{ts} and Lands thereunto be-
" longing ſituate in Sutton in the
" County of Cheſter now in Leaſe
" for Lives upon an old rent
" amounting to two pounds tenn
" ſhillings

" The ſaid Sir Francis is ſeized of
" a life Eſtate of the third part of
" one tenem^{t} in Shurlath in the ſaid
" County of the yearely value upon
" the rack before theſe tymes of two
" pound.

" The ſaid Sir Francis is ſeized of a
" life eſtate to him and his heires of
or waſhing
" the wawling of certaine ſalt in
" Northwich in the ſ^{d} County of the
" yearely value before theſe troubles
" of ſeaven pound:

" The ſaid Sir Francis Monckton
" is ſeized of an Eſtate for life the
" remainder to Sir Phillip his ſonne
" and his heires of the Mannor of

" Cavill and Birland in the P-iſh of
" Eaſtrington in the County of Yorke
" of the yearely value before theſe
" troubles one hundred forty ſeaven
" pounds three ſhillings.

" As for their perſonall eſtate the
" ſame hath been all plundered or
" ſtolne ſavinge certaine goods to the
" value of fourteene pounds.

" There is a debt oweing unto the
" Compounder Sir Francis Monck-
" ton by Mr Michaell Monckton
" amounting to two hundred pounds.

" The ſaid Sir Francis craves
" allowance of 8£ p Ann iſſueing out
" of Cavell and Berland payable to
" Mrs Iſabella Roberts dureing her
" life as may appeare by a deed made
" by Sir Phillip Father to the ſaid
" Sir Francis dated the 5th Aprill
" 1639 eight pound He craves
" allowance of a fee farme rent of
" three pound tenn ſhillings five
" pence iſſueing out of his Lands as

" aforeſaid in Cavell Birland and
" Howden and payable to the Biſhop
" of Durham. And a certaine cheiſe
" or free rent payable out of Thorpe-
" fields to the Crowne amounting
" yearely to one pound ſix ſhillings
" eight pence.

" FRAN MONCKTON

" A true copy 19 Junii 56 (1656)
" (? 46)

" J BAYLY Regt

" Received by us, Richard Waring
" and Michael Herring Treaſurers of
" the Monies to be paid into Gold-
" ſmith's Hall, of Sr Fra: Monckton &
" Sr Phillip his ſonne of Howden in the
" County of Yorke Knts the ſumme of
" Fower hundred & fourteen Pounds
" in parte of Eight hundred
" twenty fower pounds im-
" poſed upon them by the
" Houſe of Commons as lb
" a Fine for their Delin- 414
" quency to the Parliament.

8

" Wee ſay Received this
" 3rd of October 1646.
" (Signed) RICH WARINGE
" MICHAEL HERRING "

" May 25th 1647
" Theſe are to require you to
" appeare before the Committee of
" Lords and Commons for Advance
" of Money at Haberdaſhers Hall,
" London On the 16th day of June
" by one of the clocke in the after-
" noone
" Whereof you are not to faile
" To Sr Francis Monckton
" Martyn Dalliſon
" Clerk to the Comttee "

" The Lady Martha Monckton her
" Releaſe to Sr Francis Monckton
" To all Xttian People to whom
" this preſent writinge ſhall or may
" come to be read heard or ſeene;
" I dame Martha Monckton of

" Howden Widdowe, late the wife
" of Sr Phillip Monckton of Cavill
" in the County of Yorke Knight
" deceaſed; Have for me, my heires,
" Executors Adminiſtrators and Aſ-
" ſignes remiſed, releaſed and for
" Ever quite claymed And by theſe
" preſents doth for myſelfe my heires,
" Executors and Adminiſtrators and
" every of them remiſe releaſe and
" for ever quite clayme Unto Sr Francis
" Monckton of Howdon in the ſaid
" County Knight Sonne and heire
" of the Sr Phillip Monckton, and to
" the Lady Margaret Monckton his
" wife, and to Sr Phillip Monckton
" Knight ſonne and heire apparent
" of the ſaid Sr Francis, and to all
" the children of the ſaid Sr Francis
" Monckton and to their heires
" Executors Adminiſtrators and Aſ-
" ſignes and to every of them all
" and all manner of Actions as well
" Reale as perſonall Debts dutyes

" quarrells debates and demandes
" whatſoever w^ch^ I the ſaid Martha
" Monckton my Excutors Adminiſ-
" trators or Aſſynes nowe have or
" hereafter may have againſt the ſaid
" S^r^ Francis or any of the perſons
" above named from the beginninge
" of the world untill the day of the date
" hereof; And more eſpecially I the
" ſaid Dame Martha Monckton doe
" for me, my heires, Executors Ad-
" miniſtrators and Aſſynes and every
" of them graunt ſurrender remiſe
" releaſe and for Ever quite clayme
" all my rights, Intereſt, title and
" clayme unto the ſaid Sr Francis
" Monckton and his heires of and in
" my cloſe lyeinge and beinge in or
" neare adjoyneing to Halegate in
" the territories of Howden aforeſaid
" and now or late in the terme or
" occupation of Richard Drinkall or
" his Aſſynes Reſervinge neverthe-
" leſſe to my ſelfe, the profitts of the

" ſaid Cloſe unto Michaelmas next:
" In witneſſe whereof I the ſaid
" Dame Martha Monckton have
" hereunto ſubſcribed my hand and
" ſeale upon the five twenty day of
" Maye In the three and twentieth
" yeare of the Raigne of our Sove-
" raigne Lord Charles by the grace
" of god, Kinge of England Scotland
" France and Ireland Defender of
" the faith Anno Dm 1647
" (Signed)
" DAME MARTHA MONCKTON
" Sealed ſigned and delivered in the
" preſence of
" THO$ SMYTH
" BOR DRELL
" WM CLERKE"

There is an Agreement between Alexander Hartley of Langrod and Thomas Preſton, by which it appears that Lady Martha Monckton after ſhe left Yorkſhire reſided in Lancaſhire.

It is entitled

" Articles of Agreem^{t} & covenen-
" ted to had made covenanted
" & agreed upon by and between
" Thomas Preſton Schoolmaiſter at
" Somerbie of the one parte and
" Dame Martha Monckton Late in-
" habitant at York and now reſident
" at Langrod wth in the pariſh of
" Colne in the County of Lancaſhire
" of the other parte this Nyneteenth
" day of January Anno Dom 1649
" as followeth.—

" Received by us Richard Waring
" and Michael Herring Treaſurers
" of the Monies to be paid in Gold-
" ſmiths Hall of S^{r} Francis Monck-
" ton of Howden Con^{d} Yorke and
" S^{r} Phillip his ſonne the ſumme
" of one hundred pounds
" in Parte of Eight hun-
" dred Twenty Eight
" Poundes . . . . impoſed lb
" on him by the Lords and 100
" Commons as a Fine for

" his Delinquency to the
" Parliament.

" Wee ſay Received this 26 day
" of 7 br (September) 1648 in parte
" RICH WARINGE
" MICHAEL HERRING "

" Theſe are to require all Officers
" and Soldiers under my Comand
" and to deſire all others whome it
" may concerne, that they ſuffer Mr
" Edmond Monckton to remaine
" quietly at home and to goe about
" his lawfull occaſions, he ſubmitting
" to all Ordinances of Parliament and
" having engaged never to act any
" thing prejudiciall to ye Parliament,
" nor take up Armes without firſt
" rendering himſelfe priſoner to me
" Somerby Octobr 14 1648
EDW. ROSSETER.—" [1]

Black Seal.

[1] A member of an old Lincolnſhire family which dwelt at Somerby near Glanford Briggs. Arms argent on a bend ſable three roſes of the firſt.

"Wheare as Sir Francis Monck-
"ton hath lately reſeaved extraordi-
"nary abbuſes by ſome Soldieres
"threatening his Ladey's and his
"one life, deſperateley wonding one
"of his Searvantes, and tacking his
"horſes, w^th^ out aney order or
"authority, Theſe are therefore
"ſtrictly chargeing and commanding
"that no Perſon whatſoever, under
"aney pretence offer the like vio-
"lencey either upon perſon or
"Goodes (without ſome ſpetiall
"Authoritey from a ſuperior Officer)
"as they will anſwer the Contrarey.
"Given under my hand & ſele y^e^
"18^th^ of Novem 1648
"(Signed) O CROMWELL
"To all officers ſoldiers or whom-
"ſoever this may conſſerne"

"Feb^r^: 22^th^ 1649.
"At the Com^tee^ for Advance of
"Money &c
"Ordered that S^r^ Francis Monck-

" ton payeinge to the Order of this
" Com^tee the ſome of one hundred
" fifty fouer pounds in this manner
" that is to ſay the one halfe thereof
" within fowerteene dayes, the other
" halfe thereof within fowerteene
" dayes after then his Aſſeſſm^t for his
" twentyeth parte by order of this
" Com^tee to be diſcharged:

" JOHN FRYE WIL OSAY
" ED LUDLOWE
" DANIEL BLAGRAVE
" WILLIAM JACOBS
" DAN COX"

" Feb: 23^th 1649
" Rec^d of Sir Francis
" Monckton of Cavell
" Coun^t Eb: the ſume of
" ſeventy ſeven poundes lb
" being ye Moy^ty of Aſ- 077
" ſeſſm^t for his 20^th parte
" According to ye order
" w^thin written

" GEO: DAWSON"

"March ye 7th 1649
"Recd of Sr Francis
"Munckton of Cavell
"Countr Yorke the ſum of
"ſeaventy ſeaven poundes lb
"& is in full for his Aſ- 077
"ſeſſmt for his 20th pte
"According to the order
"wth in written

"GEO: DAWSON"

"Goldſmith's hall
"London "By the Comtis for
"compounding De-
"linqutis 6 Die
"Juniij 1649

"Whereas by a late act of Parlia-
"ment of the 9th of Aprill laſt this
"Comittee or any Five of them are
"authorized to diſcharge the Eſtates
"of any ſuch delinqtis who haveing
"had Fines ſett upon them by this
"Comittee ſhall ſatisfy the whole
"ſume ſoe impoſed wch diſcharge is
"by the ſaid Act declared to bee

" effectuall and whereas S^r^ Francis
" Monckton of Howden in the
" County of Yorke Knight hath
" accordingly ſatisfied the whole
" Fine w^ch^ was impoſed on him &
" hath applyed himſelfe to this
" Comittee for a full diſcharge there-
" upon. It is therefore ordered that
" ye ſequeſtration of the ſaid S^r^
" Francis Monckton his eſtate ac-
" cording to ye particular & value
" thereof formerly returned from
" this Comittee w^th^ ſuſpenſion ſhall
" be from henceforth cleerely freed
" and diſcharged from ſequeſtra-
" tion. And the ſaid S^r^ Francis
" Monckton admitted to the poſſeſ-
" ſion thereof and to receave and
" enjoy all the Rents and profitts of
" the ſame And to diſpoſe of it or
" any parte thereof as freely and fully
" as att any time before the ſequeſ-
" tration hee might or could have
" donne And that hee bee noe
" further troubled moleſted or pro-

" ceeded againſt in the way of
" ſequeſtration for any delinquency
" charged upon him for any thing
" ſaid or donne in relation to the
" firſt warr ag^t^ the Parliam^t^ unleſſe
" the ſaid S^r^ Francis Monckton have
" bin ſince engaged in y^e^ latter warr
" & have incurred a reſequeſtration
" by any ſuch Act or ingagem^t^.
" And hereof all Comittees Sequeſ-
" trators Collectors & other Officers
" whatſoever are to take notice &
" obſerve the ſame & yeild obedience
" thereunto notwithſtanding the
" ſaid S^r^ Francis Monckton ſhall not
" produce a pardon in ſome or any
" particular ordinance or act for his
" diſcharge as they will anſwer the
" contrary att there perill.

" JOHN ASHE

" To the Committee &
" Sequeſtrators for the
" County of Yorke &
" all others whome it
" may concerne

EL ASHE
" D WATKINS GEO. THOMASON
" LAWR BRINLEY HOLLAND
" SAML MOYER
" TO LEECH "

There is a diſcharge of the ſame nature as the foregoing to Sir Phillip Monckton, dated Weſtminſter April 30, 1650, only there is an exception " to the right or Eſtate of " the ſaid Sr Phillip Monckton in or " to all advowſons, preſentations and " right of Patronage to any church " or Chappell "—

" Die Mercurij 29 May 1650.
" By the Comiſſioners for advance " of Money &c.
" It is ordered that Sr Francis " Monckton Knt doe by himſelfe or " his ſufficient Attorney appeare " before the ſayd Comcrs ſittinge in " the Painted Chambr Weſtm on " Fryday ye 28th of June next to give

" ſatisfaction to ſuch debts and ſomes
" of money borrowed for maintain-
" ance of the Army raiſed againſt
" the Parliam^t apportionate parte
" whereof the ſayd S^r Francis
" Monckton ſtood charged with all
" by an agreem^t dated ye 13^th Feb^r:
" 1642:

" SAM MOYER
" SQUIBB EDM WINSLOW
" RIC: MOORE
" DAN COX."

" 12 Die Septemb: 1650:
" Received the day & yeare above
" written of S^r Francis Mountain
" according to Order from the Com^drs
" of the Militia 2 Horſes Eij for
" Armes Eq^ts for advance I ſay re-
" ceived for the uſe of the Comon
" Wealth

" MATH FLINER"

" Large wafer Seal of Charles 2.
" Charles R

" Whereas wee have appointed S^r^
" Phillip Monckton K^t^ Colonell
" Lilliſton[1] Roger Cooper and Lewes
" Margetts Gent or any three of
" them to take the accompts of
" Thomas Delavall. Wee hereby
" promiſe that after the ſaid Thomas
" Delavall ſhall have made up his
" account and ſigned the ſame as his
" ultimate accomp^t^, Whatſoever
" the ſaid S^r^ Phillip Monckton ſhall
" diſcover more w^ch^ the ſaid Thomas
" Delavall would have concealed or
" defrauded us off, We will graunt
" and hereby doe graunt the ſaid S^r^
" Phillip Monckton one full fourth
" part of all ſuch diſcovery. And
" wee require our high Treaſurer of

[1] Henry Lillingſton married Elizabeth, daughter of Marmaduke Dolman of Botteſford, Lincolnſhire. He is thought to have died in Holland. He was the father of Luke Lillingſton, who in early life was in the Dutch ſervice, and afterwards commander in the Engliſh Weſt Indies.

" England upon ſtating ſuch accounts
" to allowe the ſaid fourth part thus
" diſcovered. And to give order for
" a Privy Seale to authorize him for
" payment thereof. And to doe all
" ſuch other Acts as may enable
" him to permit the ſaid S^r^ Phillip
" Monckton to receave the full
" benefit of this our royall promiſe
" and aſſurance of the ſaid fourth
" part.

" Given at our Court at Whitehall
" the 26 day of July in the thirteenth
" yeare of our raigne

" By his Majeſtyes commande
" WILL MORICE."

" Henry Mounckton ſon and
" heire of Simon Mouncktonin the
" County of Yorke Eſq^r^ Grants to
" John Wallayes & Allice his wiffe
" & theire heires all theſe his lands
" in Moncketon called Stainlands
" with General warranty without
" doute.

" The ſaid Henry grants by another
" deed to Robert Bary Clearke & to
" his heires all his lands in Mouncke-
" ton w^ch^ he had by the gift of W^m^
" Comlett his Grandfather with
" General Warranty without doute
" Simon Mounketon ſon of the
" ſaid Henry Grants to John the
" Parker of Mounckton & to his
" heires all foggage of land in
" Mounketon w^ch^ he had by the
" feofment of John Markingfield
" paying yearley with Generall
" Warranty without doute.
" Robert Wythington ſon of Adam
" Wythington Eſq^r^ Grants to Simon
" Mounketon Eſq^r^ & his heires all
" his righte in one Rood of Land
" called White Buſke in Mounketon
" with Generall Warranty without
" doute.
" After this I find noe more y^t^
" Mounketons was the owners &
" Lords of Mounketon but that

" Mounketon was changed to Nun
" Monketon As thus.

" In the 20th yeare of King Edward
" the 2 the Lady Sibell Metham late
" wiffe of Sr John Metham grants to
" Richard Aldbrough & Jaine his wiffe
" during the liffe of the ſaid Richard
" all the lands in Wythington &
" Nunmounketon excepting ijd rent
" in Nun Mounketon wch Robert
" Newby payes yearley The ſaid
" Richard paying to the ſaid Lady
" Sibella Metham yeareley ſeven
" markes.

" It is ſince the 20 yeare of Edw :
" the 2 I have not red of anie
" of the names of the Mounketons
" to have bene Lords or owners of
" Mounketon or Nun Mounketon

" On the 20 day of July in the 16th
" yeare of Edward the 4th Sr Thomas
" Metham ſon & heire of Richard
" Metham Eſqr grants Unto Dame
" Margreet priores & Couent of the

" houſe of Nuns of Nun Mounketon
" in theſe wordes. They agreed
" Thomas Metham the elder &
" Grandfather Sir Thomas Metham
" now living had granted & to farme
" letten Unto the ſaid prioris & Couent
" all his Lands in a feild or Cloſe called
" Croke Pcell of the Lordſhipp of
" Wythington from the feaſt of our
" Lady An:d 1468 for 21 yeare next
" following paying yearely iiij^{lb} Unto
" the ſaid S^{r} Thomas Metham

" The ſaid S^{r} Thomas Metham now
" living Ratifies the ſame leaſe for 41
" yeares paying yearely 8^{lb} as above-
" ſaid

" By another deed bearing daite 14th
" of November 17 of Henry 8th the
" Priores & Couent of Nun Mounke-
" ton became bound to S^{r} Thomas
" Metham Kn^{t} & Richard Metham
" Esq^{r} in 200^{li} to ſtand to an arbitre-
" ment & awarde of Thomas Slingſby
" Eſq^{r} & others touching Wythington

" Croke & other differences betwixt
" them.——

" It appeares y^t^ Mounketons of
" Mounketon to be verie antient for
" they were Lords & owners of
" Mounketon now called Nun
" Mounketon before the ſaid was
" made a Nunnery. And afterwards
" married the heires of Cavill of Cavill
" and as it doth appeare by the bookes
" of Wallingfen y^t^ in King Henry the
" 7^th^ time W^m^ Mounketon Eſq^r^ was
" the Lord of Cavill, w^h^ att this day
" Sir Francis Mounketon is Lord &
" owner off. And at y^t^ time did
" defend the rightes of the ſaid
" Common "

" George Duke of Albemarle Earl
" of Torington Baron Monck of
" Potheridge Beauchampe and Tryes
" Cap^t^ Gen^l^ and Comander in Chiefe
" of all his Ma^ties^ Forces in his King-
" domes of England Scotland and

" Ireland Knight of the most noble
" order of the Garter Maſter of his
" Maties Forces and one of the Lords
" of his Maties moſt honoble Privy
" Councill

" To Sr Phillip Monckton Captaine
" By Virtue of the power and autho-
" rity to mee given by his moſt
" Excellent Matie Charles the ſecond
" by the grace of god Kinge of
" England Scotland France and
" Ireland Defender of the Faith &c I
" doe hereby conſtitute & appoint
" you Sr Phillip Monckton to bee
" Captaine of the Company of Foote
" late Capt Powells in the Lord
" Belaſyſe Regiment under my Com-
" and for the ſervice of his Matye

" You are therefore to take into
" your charge and care the ſaid
" Company as Captaine thereof and
" duly exerciſe the Officers and
" Soldiers of the ſame in Armes and
" alſo to uſe your beſt care &

" endeavor to keep them in good
" order and diſſipline Comandinge
" them to obey you as theire Cap-
" taine and likewiſe to follow and
" obſerve ſuch orders & directions
" as you ſhall from time to time
" receive from his Ma^tye^ or myſelfe
" and you are alſo to obey the
" ſuperiour Officers of the Regiment
" and Army according to the Diſ-
" ſipline of Warr in purſuance of
" the truſt repoſed in you and your
" duty to his Ma^tye^. Given under
" my hand and ſeale at the Cockpitt
" the 16^th^ day of July 1660 in the
" 12^th^ yeare of his Ma^tyes^ Reigne.
" ALBEMARLE "

" A Commiſſion from John Lord
" Belaſyſe Baron of Worlabye Lord
" Lieuten^t^ of the Eaſt Rydeinge of
" the Countie of Yorke and Govenor
" of Kingſton uppon Hull.
" To S^r^ Phillip Muncton K^nt^ ap-

" pointing him Captaine of one
" Troop of Horſe rayſed or to be
" rayſed within the precincts of the
" Eaſt Rydeinge for the Countie of
" Yorke. Given under his Lordſhip
" hand and ſeale the 6th day of
" December in the 14th yeare of his
" Matyes Reigne A D: 1662."

Large Wafer Seal.

" Charles R

" Charles by the Grace of God
" King of England Scotland France
" & Ireland Defender of the Fayth
" &c

" To our Truſty & Well beloved
" Sr Phillip Monketon Knt Greeting
" Wee repoſing ſpeciall Truſt &
" Confidence in your Loyalty
" Courage & good Conduct doe by
" theſe Conſtitute & appoint you to
" be Lieutenant of that Troope of
" Horſe Whereof our truſty & Wel
" beloved Sr Geo Savill is Captaine,

" you are therefore carefully & dili-
" gently to exercise y^r f^d Troop in
" Armes keeping your Souldiers in
" good order & discipline, And Wee
" doe hereby Command them to
" obey you as their Lieutenant and
" yourselfe to observe such orders &
" directions as you shall from time
" to time receive from Us Our
" Generall of Our Forces, or other
" your superior Offic^rs according to
" the discipline of Warre in pursu-
" ance of ye trust We repose in
" you.—

" Given at Our Court at White-
" hall ye 2^nd day of July in the 18^th
" yeare of Our Raigne. 1666

" By his Ma^ties Command

" ARLINGTON

" Lieu^t of S^r Geo Savilles Troop "

" Charles R

" To our Trusty & Well beloved
" Sir Philip Monckton Knt Greeting
" We doe by these Presents constitute

" and appoint you to be Captaine of
" that Company of Foot whereof
" William Lloyd Eſqr was laſtly
" Captaine in Our Regiment of
" Guards under the command of
" Colonel John Ruſſel. . &c &c
" Given at Our Court at White-
" hall the 26th day of March 1668
" in the Twentieth year of Our
" Reigne
" By his Matyes command
" WILL MORICE "

Large Wafer Seal

" William Henry by the Grace of
" God Prince of Orange &c To
" Robert Monckton Eſqr Greeting
" Wee repoſing eſpeciall truſt and
" confidence in your fidelity courage
" and good conduct Do by theſe
" preſents Conſtitute and appoint
" you to be Captain of a Company
" in the Regiment of Foot co-

" manded by Charles Lord Viſco^{t}
" Mordaunt &c &c &c
" Given at S^{t} James's the 10th
" day of November 1688.
" PRINCE ORANGE
" Ent^{d} with the Com^{r}
" Gen^{l} of the Muſters
" D: CRANFORD
" By his Highneſs Com-
" mand WILL JEPHSON
" Ent^{r} with me
" WILLIAM BLATHWAYT
" ROB^{T} MOUNTAINE ESQ^{R}
" Captain

Copy of a letter directed thus
" Theſe to the Right Worpp^{ll}
" Sir Phillip Monckton In Pontefract
" Worthy S^{r} Houlden 9th Septem
" 1666

" Wee the Inhabitants of the
" Towne of Houlden together wth
" ſeverall Londoners at preſent here

" reſiding who have ſadly participated
" of the late Lamentable deſolation
" in the Cittye of London humbly
" deſire y^t^ your Worſhip would
" Vouchſafe to take into your Con-
" ſideration our preſent Condition
" And becauſe we have juſt cauſe to
" feare y^t^ the ſame wicked perſons
" that contrived & effected the ſaid
" late deplorable deſtruction have
" farther deſignes and this towne
" being at preſent a place of Con-
" ſiderable Charge may be in very
" great danger of their villanous
" Attempts that therefore you would
" be pleaſed out of your Tender Care
" of us the ſaid Inhabitants, and we
" the ſaid afflicted Reſidents to give
" Commiſſions To ſome particular
" perſons of our Towne where bye
" they may raiſe a Companye of
" Muſquiteers among ourſelves or to
" take ſome other Courſe as you in
" your greate wiſdome ſhall thinke

" meete for our preſent ſecuritye
" And we ſhall pray &c
" For Mr FRANCIS BARKER
" ROBT TWISLETON
" EDM: LLOYDE
" GEORGE BAGNATT
" MATT COOPER
" WM KENDALL
" BENJAMIN KENDALL
" JOHN SMITH
" PHILLIP COOKE
" FOERDUN
" THOS HARRISON
" MATTH: BELT
" MATH GOREE
" THO: OKES
" LUKE BLANSHARD
" JOHN LEAPER
" JOHN SEALINGE"

" Eaſt Riding 11 Septbr 1666
" Com Ebor
" Itt is ordered that the Inhabi-
" tants of Howden doe immediately

" double the watch w^ch^ they uſually
" heretofore ſett forth & that one of
" the Conſtables of the ſame Towne
" doe every night attend & accom-
" pany ſuch one or more of the
" Londoners as ſhall goe the Round
" there.

" To the Conſtable
" & other the Inhabi-
" tants of Howden theſe."

The following is taken from Sir Philip Monckton's petition in his own handwriting to King Charles the Second about the year 1667:—

" May it pleaſe your Ma^ty^

" After your Ma^tyes^ happy re-
" ſtauration, I was a Suitor at your
" Court two yeares togeither, for
" ſome recompenſe for my ſervice,
" your Ma^ty^ haveing by a letter
" writt with your Royall hand w^ch^
" was brought me by Major Waters

"in the yeare 53/ promiſed y^t^ if
"God reſtored you, I ſhould ſhare
"with you, dureing which time I
"had the fortune to ſave your Ma^ty^
"and your Royall Brother from
"being aſſaſſinated.—

"When I had thus long and
"ineffectually ſollicited, the General
"was pleaſed to ſpeak to the Lord
"Chancellor y^t^ ſomethinge might
"be donne for me, for y^t^ great
"ſervice (as he was pleaſed to call
"it) y^t^ I had donne your Ma^ty^ and
"himſelfe at York. For Sire if the
"Lord Fairfax had not riſen the
"Generall had periſhed at Cold
"Streame: And I did not a little
"contribute to his riſing by removing
"thoſe ſcruples, that ſome of his
"party had againſt it. And by
"animateing of them to it and in
"giving of you that aſſiſtance he
"deſiered both from myſelfe & in
"procureing Sir Hugh Bethel to

" riſe with him. And when he
" came before the Citty he had been
" loſt and conſequently the Generall,
" If I had not made and headed an
" inſurrection with that hazard and
" ſucces, that few Captaines can
" boaſt of, as your Ma^ty^ may ſee if
" you pleaſe by a particular account
" of it.

" The Lord Chancellors anſwer
" to ye Generall was that I was mad
" and not fitt for any imployment.
" I thank God I did not demeane
" my ſelfe ſoe, although his endea-
" vour to bereave me of the repute
" of a rational ſoule was hard, yet
" God ſupported me under it, and I
" had the diſcretion as to retire into
" y^e^ Countrey, with a reſolution to
" ſtay as patiently as I could untill
" God's hand ſhould finde him out
" where I remained five yeares but
" with much more trouble than I
" had undergonne in Two baniſh-

" ments for your bleſed Father and
" many longe and chargeable im-
" priſonments for your Ma^ty.—

" God was pleaſed upon ye buſi-
" nes of Chattam juſtly to bring
" him to diſgrace upon which I
" came to ye Court and if your
" Ma^ty pleaſe to remember I did my
" parte to rid you of him by my
" Informations that S^r With: Co-
" ventre had.

" Dureing this ſad retirement I
" was involved in another trouble,
" in revenge of what I had donne
" towards the breaking of Lamberts
" Army, by his Creature Benſon
" who procured one Copley and one
" Peebles to ſue S^r Will: Wentworth
" and my ſelfe moſt unjuſtly for the
" Inheritance of our Mothers w^ch he
" begun longe before I proſecuted
" him for his extortions: after they
" had put us to ye expence of many
" thouſand poundes, they ſeamed

" willing to come to a reference and
" the laſt Hillary Terme an agree-
" ment was made betwixt us, in
" March laſt Sr Will: & I went
" doune into Yorkeſh: to finiſh ye
" agreement in order to it Copley
" and Peebles did meete us at Wake-
" field, and at their Motion we were
" willing yt Benſon ſhould draw
" ſurrenders and writteings for us:
" To wch end Sr Will: and Peebles
" went to Benſon upon Saturday and
" gave him inſtructions, and on ye
" mooneday following wee were to
" meete at Wakefield and to perfect
" ye buſines; but Benſon in ſteade
" of haveing ye writteing drawne as
" wee expected ſent Sr Will: a letter
" that he would not medle, and
" would not ſuffer Copley and
" Peebles to come to us as they had
" promiſed.

" Now Sire by ye continewation
" of this ſuite my younger children

" are ruined, and which is moore to
" me, my creditors; for out of this
" eſtate I could have provided for
" my Children and have paide my
" debts, if we had agreed"

Copy of a letter directed thus:—

" For my Worthy frend Sr Phillip
" Mounckton from Lincolne theſe
" at Newbold. To be left at Cave
" to be ſent Yorkſhire poſt pd 2d"

Sealed with three ſtags' heads & a Creſcent between.

" Sr

" Next to your kindneſs of ſeeing
" me at my Houſe your letters are
" wellcome to me and I give you
" many thankes for your affectionate
" letter of ye 5th from Lincoln, and
" much news there was in it to me
" I heareing very little. Laſt weeke
" my old frend Mr Vincent a York-
" ſhire Gentleman was wth me I
" gueſs you know him I perſuaded

" him to Lodg two nights here. I
" was very glad to heare from you
" my noble beſt frend my Lord
" Halifax hath good health I pray
" for it harttily I thinke I ſhall be
" his nearer neighbor, being putt out
" from hence, and my Wife deſires
" much to live in Nottinghamſhire
" Where ever I am I ſhall be ſure to
" have great affection and eſteeme
" for you and I pray you keepe me
" in your opinion as

" Your moſt faithfull
" Aſſured Ser^t^
" (Signed) OGLE

" Glentworth
" Feb ye 10^th^
" (68)

1668

" Whereas we whoſe names are
" hearunto ſubſcribed being farmers
" of the fines & Amercim^ts^ in ye
" County of Yorke are informed y^t^

" ſeverall amercim^ts & fines y^t were
" Impoſed uppon offendours in ye
" ſaid County were either not eſ-
" treated or ye eſtreats not returned
" into his Majeſties Court of Ex-
" chequer We doe theirfore by
" theſe preſents impower Sir Phillip
" Mounckton to inquire after theſe
" ſaide Miſdemeanours or any other
" & to Impleade in his Majeſties
" Court of Exchequer any perſon or
" perſons yt ſhall have received any
" ſommes of money or other Gra-
" tuitee for conſealing or not certi-
" fieing ye ſame into his Majeſties
" Courte of Exchequer & wee doe
" hereby promiſe unto y^e ſaid S^r
" Phillip Mounckton one moietie
" of all ſuch moneys as ſhall be re-
" covered in his Majeſties Courte of
" Exchequer or lawfully taken for
" compoſition of any perſon for the
" aforeſaid Miſdemanours, to recom-
" penſe the charge hee ſhall be at

" about the ſame in teſtimony where-
" of we have ſett our hands & ſeales
" the 5th day of December 1668—
" BERKSHIRE
" Ro: HOWARD
" Sealed and delivered by
" ye right honourable
" ye EARLE OF BARKE-
" SHIRE in the preſence
" of SUSANNA CORBETT
" GEORGE HARRISON.
" Sealed and delivered by the Hon^ble
" SIR ROBERT HOWARD in the
" preſence of JOHN BRIMSDEN,
" RICHARD CLARKE."

Copy of a letter from Sir William Wentworth, directed " For S^r Philip " Monckton Highſherife of Yorke- " ſhire at his houſe in Yorke."

" 4 Jan 69 (1669)

" Dear Sir

" I receaved y^r letter and ſhall doe " my beſt & will venture out to mor-

" row morning to the Court, I feare
" not but we may hinder his being
" deſmiſſed untill y^r affidavits come.
" S^r John was endeavorring to gite
" him longer time, laſt weake for
" coming out ſo y^r affidavits ſhould
" have beene ſooner what ſucceſſe
" he had upon his motion I know
" not—This my Lord H · told
" me ſo if he appeares not I need
" not ſolicit them I expect little upon
" it, but I will not faile This brave
" man died early yeſterday or ſunday
" night I was with him he could
" raiſe himſelfe up in his chaire and
" knew us all and ſaid he was better
" than the day before, died like a
" Roman Generall and Soldier ſtand-
" ing allmoſt up in his chaire, his
" chamber like a tent open and all
" his Officers about him, with noe
" feare but paine on him, and did
" ſmile once and did heare extremely
" well—My L^d Craven has his regi-

" ment, and his troupe is called the
" Queens—His ſon is to be one of
" the bed chamber and L^d^ Lieutenant
" of Devonſh: and have the Garter
" —I was to ſee my L^d^ Ogle who
" is very ill, I hope in noe danger,
" The Ducheſs will recover as ſome
" thinke on ſatturday when the Duke
" was to ſee the Generall and hir,
" ſhe told the Duke that they were
" the prayers of a dying woman, that
" who ever did not love the king
" might be confounded body and
" ſoule, and as ſoon as he was gone
" bid one tel him that ſhe wiſhed
" allſo that if hir ſon did not love
" the king allſo that he might be
" confounded in both allſo—is not
" this a brave Royalliſt, ſome thinke
" a better Chriſtian wiſh might have
" bene made, but ſhe knew a brother
" would ſay Amen to it They knew
" ye Duke was ill, he hath a double
" tertian ague ſo y^r^ did not mention

" him. My Cos: the Lady Caſtle-
" maine is houſekeeper of Hampton
" Court and came to ſay my L^d^
" Garard is to be ranger of S^t^ James
" More is to ſuceed him in the Tre-
" ſory—He is to be carried to So-
" merſet houſe and burried on the
" kings charges Peebles is this night
" comed to Towne to morrow early
" I ſhall attend—noe getting to Lam-
" beth for the Ice I could not meet
" the Biſhop of London to day I will
" reach him to morrow—Good ſpeed
" to you in my next you hear more
" —ſay you will give them poſſeſſion
" of any Coppy hold that you may
" try it with them—and take a rea-
" ſonable fine.—They talke much of
" that we may make them lower a
" time before they goe to the Crowne
" —deſire y^r^ under Sherife to treat,
" but before he conclud or goe, let
" me know and I will direct—De-
" ſire M^r^ Wrightſon to let you know

"the land—let him not faile of
"ſerving all with declarations I men-
"tioned to him.—
"I'me in haſte who am Dear Sir
"Yr moſt affectionate Coſen
"W. WENTWORTH"

"Wee the Maior Aldermen and
"Sheriffes of the Citty of Yorke doe
"hereby give Teſtimony of the great
"Obligation laid upon this Citty by
"Sir Phillipp Monckton Knight
"upon the firſt day of January in
"the yeare of our Lord one thouſand
"ſix hundred fifty and nine whoe then
"hazarded himſelfe by heading and
"encourageing diverſe of our fellow
"Cittizens whoe aſſembled in the
"Minſter when there was ſoe con-
"ſiderable a Garriſon both of horſe
"and foote in the Citty under the
"Comand of Coll Lilburne by which
"diverſion the Entrance of the Lord
"Fairfax whoe was then att the gates
"was much facilitated and the Con-

"trary deſigne prevented which wee
"fully ſuſpect to have beene the
"poſſeſſing of this place to the great
"prejudice thereof and of this whole
"Kingdome Given under our hands
"and ſeales the 12th day of October
"Anno Dñi 1669

"CHR: BREAREY Maior
"W THOMPSON
"GEO: LAMPLUGH
"EDWARD ELWICK Aldermen
"GEO: MUNCKTING
"HENRY TRUEMAN
"WILEM: RICHARDSON
"WILLM BELL Sheriffe"

"Charles R

"Truſty and Wellbeloved Wee
"greet you well. Whereas humble
"ſuit hath been made unto us on
"your behalfe that during your She-
"riffalty of our County of Yorke,
"you may have licenſe to remain at
"London or to goe to any other
"place your occaſions ſhall call you

"to and where your preſence and
"attendance ſhall be requiſite, Wee
"being graciouſly pleaſed to gratify
"you in your requeſt to doe accord-
"ingly hereby grant full licenſe and
"permiſſion to be abſent out of our
"ſd County and remaine at any place
"you ſhall thinke fit during your ſd
"office of Sheriffalty, any law, ſtatute,
"Uſage or Cuſtom to the contrary
"notwithſtanding, not doubting but
"that you will take all fit care that
"ſuch your abſence prove not pre-
"judiciall to our ſervice. And ſoe
"wee bid you farewell. Given at
"our Court at Whitehall the 23rd
"day of Novr 1669.

"By his Maties Comand
"(Signed) ARLINGTON

"Sheriffe of
"Yorkſhires
"Licence.

"Directed thus
"To our Truſty and Wellbeloved

"Sr PHILIP MOUNCKTON Bart
"High Sheriffe for Our County
"at Yorke"

Copy of a Letter in Sir Philip Monckton's writing indorſed "Bel-
"laſes Letter"—

"March 26: 73 (1673)

"My Lord

"Your Lord p: may remember
"that upon ye 29th of January 1656
"I was at your Lordps Lodgeings in
"Covent Garden and there did pro-
"poſe to you ſome thinge for
"ye ſervice of your then Exiled
"Prince: I went out of ye houſe yt
"day in order to make an inſur-
"rection upon Valentines day fol-
"lowing: but I was ſecured three-
"dayes before that and being brought
"upon ye ſeaventh of June following
"before Oliver at Whitehall where
"none was with him but your friend
"Lambert; he told me then the

"very ſame wordes that I ſpoake in
"January to your Lord p:
"My Lord I was upon this com-
"mitted by him to Lambeth where
"I lay ten monthes and two weakes
"in priſon: I had fifty poundes of
"you dureing my impriſonment up-
"on my taxing of you with this
"I have longe waited for an opor-
"tunity to have a better ſatisfaction
"and now I intend to make uſe of
"my time if your Lord p ſhall not
"voluntarily doe it I heare my Lord
"that you are to receive 4000^{li} for
"your Government of Hull unles
"your Lord p: prevent it by an
"imediate compliance with me this
"day I will move his Ma^{ty} that I
"may have reparation from you for
"that impriſonment and I hope his
"Ma^{ty} and all that ſhall heare of it
"will thinke it unreaſonable that
"you that did this to his Ma^{ty} and
"me ſhould have thoſe great ad-

"vantages that you have had & this
"4000 £ and I have noe thinge
"that was more inſtrumentall in his
"Ma^ties reſtauration than any man
"now alive; and that with ſuch
"hazard of my life as noe ſubject in
"Europe hath runn for his Sove-
"raigne as I did to get Yorke out
"of Lilburnes handes and breake
"your frend and confederate your
"Lord Lamberts army, which if it
"had not bene for me had not been
"broaken; and whilſt it had ſtoode
"the Kinge, had never beene re-
"ſtored.

"My Lord I expect your imediate
"anſwer to

"Your Lord^ps Servant
"as you uſe him
"PHILL: MONCKTON.

"I lodge next
"doore to ye red
"Lyon at one M^rs
"WILTSHIRES."

"To ye Kings moſt excellent Ma^ty
"The humble petition of Marga-
"ret Monckton Humbly ſheweth
"That your petitioners Father Sir
"Phillip & her Grandfather S^r Fran-
"cis, and her great Grandfather S^r
"Phillip Monckton had the honour
"to live ſome yeares under Sequeſ-
"tration for there Loyalty and love
"to your Ma^ties bleſſed Father.
"And that after your petitioners
"Father had two compoſitions made
"for him, and brought home from
"two baniſhm^ts, he was not ſatisfied
"with thoſe demonſtrations of his
"love and loyalty to your Ma^ties
"Royall Family (in whoſe ſervice
"he had ten horſes ſhot & killed
"under him) But did expend all ye
"portion of your petiti^rs Mother w^ch
"was betwixt 2 & three thouſand
"poundes, in plotteing, & contriveing
"your Ma^ties reſtauration; in w^ch
"God was pleaſed to make him in

"ſome meaſure inſtrumental by gette-
"ing Yorke out of Coll Lilburnes
"handes, which he did with great
"hazard of his life & expence of
"money.

"Now in regard of ye great ſuf-
"ferings and ſervices of your Peti-
"tioners Father, & y^t^ if it ſhould
"pleaſe God to take him out of this
"worlde he can not leave your pe-
"titioner any portion

"Your Petitioner doth therefore
"humbly pray that your Ma^ty^ would
"be graciouſly pleaſed to give your
"petitioner y^e^ profits of y^e^ Signiory
"of Howdenſhire belonging to ye
"Biſhoprick of Durham, provided
"the ſtaithes be repaired & main-
"tained."

"At ye Court at Whitehall 7^br^ ij^th^
"73—(1673)

"His Ma^ty^ retaineing a gracious
"ſenſe of ye ſufferings & ſervices of

" y^e^ Petitioners Famaly, & being in
" conſideration thereof inclined to
" gratifie her in this requeſt is pleaſed
" to refer and recom̄end it to y^e^ right
" hono^ble^ my Lord High Treaſurer
" of England to conſider thereof and
" report what his Ma^ty^ may fitly doe
" in it without manifeſt inconve-
" niencey to his ſervice, upon which
" his Ma^ty^ will declare his further
" pleaſure: " ARLINGTON "

This petition was granted by King Charles the ſecond to Margrett Monckton only daughter of S^r^ Phillipp Monckton of Cavill in the County of Yorke Kn^t^ and the deed is dated the 3^rd^ December 1673.

" Charles R

" Wee are graciouſly pleaſed here-
" by to licence our truſty and well-
" beloved Cap^ne^ S^r^ Phillip Monckton
" of our owne Regimente of Foote
" Guards Under the com̄and of our
" truſty and well beloved Collonell

"John Ruſſell to repaire into the "Country for the ſpace of ſix weekes "next after the date hereof. Dureing "wch time our Comiſſarys Generall "of the muſters are to allowe and "paſſe him uppon the muſters

"Given at our Court at Whitehall "the 14th day of September 1673.

"By his Maties Comand

"ARLINGTON.

"Entrd with the
"Comr Genl of
"Muſters
"J. B.

"To all Officers and others whom "theſe may concerne

"For giveing leave to Sir Ph "Monckton to goe into the Country "for ſix weekes.—"

"Whitehall ye 21 Sept 1675

"Sr

"His Maty being firmly re- "ſolved yt ye Parliament ſhall meet

" ye 13 October yt you may not be
" surprised w^th^ any contrary reports
" nor be detained in ye Country by
" ye Business of ye Sessions, w^ch^ falls
" out unhappily to be near upon y^t^
" time, hath commanded me to give
" you this notice of it as one of
" whose good Intentions and Loyalty,
" his Ma^ty^ hath had great assurance,
" y^t^ you will not faile to be here at
" or before ye time appointed.—
" And I desire you will doe me ye
" favour, to let me know as soon as
" you doe come to town y^t^ I may
" acquaint ye King how his Com-
" mands to me have been executed.—
" I kisse your hand and wishing
" you a good journey remaine ever
" with obedience,

" Sir
" Y^r^ most humble & faithfull
" Serv^t^
" JN WILLIAMSON.
" S^r^ Phil: Monckton.

"Theſe for my ever honoured
"Brother P:M:

"My Deare Brother
"I received yours of 2: of Sept
"for the which I give you many
"thankes. for truly it is a great
"deall of Content to me when I
"have the happineſs of being ſatiſ-
"fied of your health by your owne
"lines; I ſent out a ſkort (ſcout)
"to diſkovar the realltye of ag. &
"they found her ſo firmly fixt, that
"nothing but death was abell to
"unty that tribell knott on her part,
"ſo to tell you truth, I was loath
"to medell in it. As for my Coſen
"Ed: I writ to him, but did
"receve no anſwer. As for my
"ſiſter Jane ſhe has given her littell
"young , ſo many refuſees that
"I am afraid he dare not lay ſeage
"no moar. All the news is, a
"Child at Yorke that was but 7

" weekes ould did ſpeke & krie a
" king a king, 3 or 4 times a day,
" for a month together, & then give
" ovver;[1] I did not hear it but it is
" tru, for they are Credebele pepell
" & not a fue that was with it when
" it ſpoke. We hear very littell out
" of the north, ſom few ſkrimiges.
" Sam Brooke is ſlan thear: the
" generalls men com daly away:
" but I hope now they will be made
" ſtay for juſt now we are raſing
" boath hors and futt with gragoon-
" ers; & they will be for a march
" upon thurſday next, & then, I

[1] Hundreds of inſtances might be quoted from the literature of paſt times in which new-born infants or very young children are ſaid to have ſpoken articulately, and to have foretold things about to come to paſs. Rabelais ſatirizes this ſuperſtition when he tells us that his hero Gargantua as ſoon as he was born cried out in a ſturdy voice, "*à boire, à boire, à boire*, comme invitant tout le monde a boire." *Gargantua*, I. vi.

" hope ſomthing will be don for
" winter comes on ſo faſt, that tha
" will not be abell to lie in the
" feld: All our frends in Lincoln-
" ſhear is well & dieſiers thear re-
" ſpectes may be axſepted on by you.
" This for the preſent is all but that
" tender affection which ſhall nevear
" alter from you & is redy to ſerf
" you in any thing that lies in the
" pore of your Loveing
" Siſter E: M:[1]
" Holden the
" 6 of Sept 50 (1650)

" Lett me know if you do not
" want money, for rather than you
" ſhould be without a recrut I will
" ſend you if you will but lett me
" know.

" My mother takes it very un-
" kindly that you ſhould mak an
" apolige to her, in your letter,
" about the glovfes, & ſas that we

[1] Elizabeth Monckton.

" are all ſo ſtrang to her that ſhe
" has very littell comfoart, but do
" not you troubell yourſelfe, for it
" is but after the ould faſhon but I
" thought it not amis to impart it
" to you, becas you might the better
" mak your exkuſe in yorſe for it
" when you writ to her."

Sir Philip Monckton wrote the copy of his anſwer on the back of his ſiſter's letter, viz:

" Deare Siſt:

" I have received both yours of
" the 6 and 27 of Sep: in which
" latter I finde you admire one of
" your ſex, you ſee ſiſter how raire
" a thinge it is for me to finde one
" ſoe conſtante in the continuation
" of theire kindneſſe to me as your-
" ſelfe, which a lone were it not
" for your vertuous goodneſſe were
" enough to make me unalterably

" yours; an Uncle of hers ſince I
" writt to you ſent me worde that
" ſhe was to be within 10 daies at
" London, to whom I returned my
" wiſhes of much happineſſe to
" theire good Company and told
" him of my goeing to Paris. I
" hartily wiſh my ſiſter Jane a good
" huſb: and if I could doe any
" thinge for the furtherance of it, I
" ſhould thinke myſelf moſt fortu-
" nate I thank you for your kinde
" profer of a recruite and deſier
" you to preſent my reſpects to all
" my friends in Lincolnſhire and
" elſewhere & to all I am bounde.
" I hope to caſt away clog at your
" wedding when you make a ſack
" poſſet for me.

" Nov^{b} 21—To let them know I
" am goune for Orleans, Blois."

Letter from Sir George Saville to Sir Philip Monckton.

"London 13 June[1]

"Dear Sr

"I do not doubt but you will "hear the confuſion wee are in here "ſince the burning of our ſhips by "the Dutch at Chatham. I was a "melancholy ſpectator of that buſi- "neſſe, ſo that I could tell you the "particulars if it was not ſo unplea- "ſant to me to repeat them, as it "would bee to you to read them; "it is feared they may attempt the "firing the ſhips wee have left upon "this river, and the poſſibility they "being maſters of the ſea may ſud- "denly invade us maketh the King "reſolve to raiſe a great many horſe "and hath made me a Captaine "againe which though I ſhould "have avoided at another Time yet

[1] 1667.

" in this exigency I lay aſide all
" other conſiderations as I beleeve
" you will do, and therefore I deſire
" you would ſpeak to my two Cor-
" poralls if they pleaſe to be ſo
" againe, and to thoſe you brought
" in before that they will bee ready
" at Pontefract within a fort-
" night, in which time you ſhall
" know the preciſe day of the ren-
" dezvous and where wee are to
" have armes, if we ſhould be in-
" vaded, and that wee are engaged
" in a formed Warre I do not
" doubt but you will have better
" imployments and ſo will Tho:
" Eſcot, and Sr Cr Bethell, but you
" having been ſo kind to mee, as
" not onely to let me bee your
" Captaine once, but to promiſe
" mee you would allow mee to bee
" ſo againe, I do without ſcruple
" propoſe it to you. I am in ſuch
" haſte that I have not time to writ

" to Tho: Eſcot nor Sr Cr Bethell
" and therefore I deſire you will
" excuſe mee to them and acquaint
" my Coſen Fox with it that if he
" pleaſeth, hee may have the ſame
" imployment hee had laſt ſummer
" pray ſend mee one letter to Rufford
" and another to London, that I may
" bee ſure I know your reſolution,
" in caſe I ſhould remove ſuddenly
" from hence which is probable
" I am
" Dear Sir
" Your faithfull humble
" Servant
" (Signed) GEO: SAVILE.
" For my hon-
" oured friend Sr
" Philip Monckton
" at Newbald to
" bee left with the
" Poſtmaſter at
" Howden York-
" ſhire pd 3d."

" For my honoured friend Sr Philip
" Monckton at Newbald to bee left
" with the Poſt maſter at Howden
" Yorkſhire

" Rufford June 19 (1667)
" 67

" Sr

" Your accepting an inployment
" once more, ſo little worthy of you,
" is no ſurpriſall to mee, becauſe
" you have ſo uſed mee to your
" kindneſſe as to make mee expect
" it: I aſſure you it is not quite loſt
" upon mee for I value it as it de-
" ſerveth, and do look upon myſelfe
" as your eternall debtor for it. I
" cannot enough commend your
" zele for your country, I wiſh thoſe
" that have brought us to this con-
" dition, would yet take ſuch mea-
" ſures as might help us out of it.
" If you and I do our partes in our
" little ſphere, it will be a ſatisfac-

" tion to us, though it ſhould not
" preſerve us; I hear nothing ſince
" I came down, ſo that I conclude
" the enemy hath attempted nothing
" upon the Thames; whether wee
" ſhall be invaded or no, ſeemeth to
" bee in the power of the French
" and Dutch now that they have
" taken the ſea from us; it is good
" to provide againſt the worſt, and
" as to my troop, I have appointed
" next Wedneſday the time to meet
" mee at Pontefract, ſo that I deſire
" you would take care it may be
" known by the Corporals and thoſe
" that are near you. I intend to be
" there Tueſday night and ſhall be
" glad to find you there I am dear
" Sir

" Your faithfull humble ſervant

" GEO: SAVILE

" For my honoured friend Sr
" Philip Monckton this. (Written in
" 1666 or 1667.)

" Pontefract July 5

" Dear Sr

" I deſired my Ld Duke to pro-
" poſe that to you, for which I
" wanted confidence, believing the
" imployment your friendſhip maketh
" you willing to accept, not good
" enough for you, but I can aſſure
" you if I had a better in my power
" to offer you, you are the man in
" the world I ſhould moſt wiſh to
" ſerve with and not onely out of
" kindneſs to you, but as nobody is
" abler to do the King ſervice, if
" there ſhould bee occaſion to uſe
" officers as well as to liſt them. I
" do intend, if nothing happeneth to
" divert mee from it to bee to morrow
" night at York where I ſhall bee
" glad to meet you then or the next
" day; in the mean time I hope you
" will bee picking up men, that are
" tolerably horſed, which I find will
" bee the greateſt difficulty. An-

" thony Eyre is Cornette and is
" doing what hee can to liſt men in
" Nottinghamſhire. Clifton Leeke
" I think will be Quartermaſter, for
" corporals I have pitched upon two
" and leave the other for you to
" chuſe. I hope my Lady will for-
" give mee for taking you from her
" and pray do you believe no one in
" the world is more

" Your faithfull friend
" and ſervant
" GEO: SAVILE

" My L[d] Duke
" ſayeth hee will
" furniſh us with
" piſtols and hol-
" ſters.

" For S[r] Philip Monckton high-
" ſherife of Yorkeſhire at Newbald
" near Cave. Let this goe by the
" poſt to Doncaſter and ſo by the
" bag to Holden thence as above
" p[d] 3[d]

" Yorkeſhire

" Deare S^r^

" You had not bene ſo long with-
" out a letter, but that this towne
" affords not one drop of News, we
" are expecting my L^d^ of Buckingh:
" from France who they ſay hath
" done all his buſineſſe, but of what
" nature it is none knows. ether ſay
" ſume to break the triple league or
" for a Lady, let it be any thing or
" nothing, he is highly treated, 40
" diſhes every meale; a guard to
" attend him 40000 livres in the
" hilt of a ſword, comand to all to
" treat him above whatever extra-
" ordinary Imbaſſidor was &c—upon
" moonday the King for Winſor to-
" day a proclamation that the Par^mt^
" muſt ſit at the time appointed ſo
" we ſhall ſurely ſee you. I have
" had talke with S^r^ Chriſt: Clapham
" and hopes very good ſucceſſe from
" it. My Lady Cleaveland hath

" now a great reverſal given her, ſhe
" rattled the young Lady Northum-
" berland for diſpiſing her ſon, and
" a better body ſaid her doughter
" was Harry Sidneys baſtard. The
" Duke is much recovered, but not
" perfectly wel. Five young Ladies
" are now in the ſtraw, Lond: goes
" on apace, the noyſe of fires not
" diſmaying them. I'me glad all is
" quiet where you are: prepaire to
" be here before time for then we
" muſt give battle. When any
" thing of moment is you are ſure to
" here from me

" Dear Sr

" Yr moſt affectionate Coſen and

" faithfull ſervant

" W. WENTWORTH

" My wife and I
" deſire our hum-
" ble ſervice to my
" Lady The mu-
' tineers in France

" are all broake up-
" on the Wheele."

The following is a copy of the Hon^{ble} General Robert Monckton's letter to his brother William the ſecond Viſcount Gallway

" River S^{t} Lawrence
" 15th Sept 1759.

" Dear Brother

" On the 13th we had an action
" with the French juſt above Quebec,
" Gen^{l} Wolfe received a wound in
" the beginning of the action, of
" which He dyed ſoon after, and
" my ſelf one in my right Breaſt
" through part of my Lungs, and
" was cut out by my ſhoulder Blade;
" which obliged me to quit the
" Field juſt as the French were
" giveing way, A Great mortifica-
" tion to me, as the Command of
" the army Devolves to me. Townſ-

" hend Commands before Quebec,
" as I am not able to be there—And
" I am in Hopes we ſhall ſoon have
" the Town—there is no Danger in
" my wound and I was never in
" better Health; I write a ſhort
" Letter to Mr. Pitt.
" I'm yours &c
(Signed) " Robt. Monckton."

" To my Mother
" Deare Mother
" I give you many thankes for
" your token, and I doe not doubte
" but God will reſtore me to you in
" his good time, theirfore I beſeech
" you be not troubled at my goeing
" beyond ſea, for to heare of that
" would trouble me moore than any
" other misfortune, and by it you
" can not benefit me but injure your-
" ſelfe, and all thoſe that love you;
" moreover it is unpleaſeing to God
" not patiently to ſubmit to his will,

" which if we doe, we ſhall ſooner
" obtaine ours from him: I am
" very much aſſured of your love to
" me in any thing within your
" power, and therefore am eternally
" obliged, & pray God for your fe-
" licity, and you for your bleſſeing
" upon me, and I ſhall ever remaine
" Yor moſt dutifull Sonn
" PH: MONCKTON
" Graveſend
" Jan: 13
" 48" (1648)[1]

" To my Mother
" Deare Mother
" I am very happy to heare from
" you and ſhall not faile to preſent
" my duty as often to you as I can,
" if you pleaſe to ſpeak to my Coſin
" Monckton and if you can get his
" anſwere ſent to Mrs Foſters to
" Lincolne it will be the likelieſt

[1] 1649 new ſtyle.

" way to come ſafe to me. I pray
" preſent my humble ſervice to my
" Aunte and my Cos Anne: and
" my love to my Brother and ſiſters
" with the reſt of my freindes and I
" ſhall ever pray God for your
" happineſſe whilſt

" I am
" Yor moſt dutifull ſonne
" PH: MONCKTON

" Belvoir[1]
" Sep: 23 (48)
" My Cos Ned preſents his reſpects
" to you my Aunte and all with you
" I thank you for your token.

" For my Mother
" Deare Mother
" I am very joyfull to heare by
" my fathers letter that you are well,

[1] Sir Philip was at this time a priſoner in Belvoir Caſtle, then held for the Parliament by Col. Edward Roſſeter of Somerby, near Brigg.

" which I beſech God to continew
" and to ſend you all other earthly
" comforts here; that may make
" you happy, however if it be his
" will to leſſen his bounty towards
" us here, he will enlarge it in a
" better place, and give us both
" here and theire, that which he
" knowes moſt needfull for us,
" which wheither good or bad the
" moore willingly wee accept, the
" ſooner will he comply with our
" wills, which in his good time I
" doubte not but wee ſhall know
" by ſendeing us a joyfull meeteing
" here, and a happier here after. I
" beſech you remember my love to
" my Brother and ſiſters and to all
" my freindes in Lincolne-ſhire, and
" if my Coſin William W: be at home
" it will be moſt convenient for him
" to remove and live where he lived
" the laſt yeare, I beſech you for
" your bleſſeing and I ſhall daly

" pray for your happineſſe and ever
" remaine
" Yor moſt dutifull Sonne
" P. M.
" March 15
" 1649
" Callis"

" To my Mother
" Deare Mother
" I have nothing to preſent you
" with but my duty which I ſhall
" ever expreſſe moſt willingly and
" readyly, and do wiſh I could
" wittneſſe it in as ample a manner
" as I deſier which though denied
" me for the preſent yet I doubte
" not but God for your ſake will
" bleſſe me and ſend us a happy
" meeteing, in the meane time I
" beſech you for your praiers and
" your bleſſeing and I ſhall remaine
" Yor moſt dutifull Sonn
" PH: MONCKTON

" Gaunte
" 28
" May (49)"

" To my Mother
" Lovaine July 17(49)
" Deare Mother:
" I am not a little joyfull to hear
" that you are well, which I ſhall
" allwaeis pray God to continew of
" whose goodneſſe I doubte not in
" ſendeing us thoſe thinges wee moſt
" deſier, when he ſees it convenient,
" in the interim we ſhall pleaſe him,
" and leſſe diſpleaſe our ſelves, if wee
" willingly accept what he pleaſeth
" at preſent to give us:
" I give you many thankes for
" your carre in deſiering to know
" what I want, which is noe thing
" but your good companies, which
" I hope to enjoy in good time. I
" beſech you preſent my Brother and
" ſiſters with my love and my Aunte

" and my Coſen Anne with my
" humble ſervice and
" I ſhall ever remaine
" Yor moſt dutifull Sonn
" PHILL MONCKTON
" I intende ſhortely to ſend two pic-
" tures to London to the gentleman
" that ſendes you this, if you ſende
" him order how to get them conveied
" to you after they come to him,
" when you have made your choiſe
" I deſier my ſiſt: Eliz: may have
" that you leave."

" For my deare Mother the Lady
" Margret Monckton
" Bruxells Novr 19 1649
" Deare Mother:
" I wiſh that I had had any thing
" moore worthy of your acceptance
" then ye picture which I could all
" moyſt wiſh that I had not ſent it
" if you ſuffer the ſight of it to cauſe
" any ſadneſſe in you I thank God

" I live here very quiet, and con-
" tented untll it pleaſe God to ſende
" us a happy meeteing, which I do
" not doubte of in his good time
" with joy and comfort: as you have
" allwaies inſtructed me to make it
" my cheife care to ſerve God, ſoe I
" hope I ſhall have grace to worſhip
" him and obey you whoſe loveinge
" kindneſſe to me has beene moore
" then Motherly, which does oblige
" me to beſech you (not to be
" troubled at the thinges of this
" worlde) for the love you beare
" him that dailye praies for your
" happineſſe and will ever remaine
" Yo^{r} moſt dutiful Sonne
" PH: MONCKTON"

" For my Deare Mother the Lady
" Margret Monckton
" Brux: Dec^{r} ij 1649
" Deare Mother
" I anſwered yours of the 23 of

" Oct^r three weekes agonne which
" I hope eare this you have received
" I am ſome thing troubled to think
" that you may greive at our misfor-
" tunes, which will doe yourſelfe
" noe good, but all your freindes a
" great deal of harme, I ſhould be
" very glad to know, that you take
" not to much caire for thoſe thinges
" which (though you can not) God
" in his good time will helpe; Good
" Mother doe not theirefore auge-
" ment your ſeameing miſeries, but
" leſſen them with the hopes that
" God for your ſake will bleſſe us
" all, and ſende us a happy meeteing
" which is the prayer of
" Deare Mother
" Yo^r moſt dutifull Sonn
" P: M
" I beſech you remember my love
" to my Brother Siſters whoſe letters
" I anſwered with yours when you
" ſende into to Lincolnſh: I pray
" ſende my ſervice to all my freindes"

" For Sir Francis Monckton Kng^t^
" S^r^

" Dec: ii 1649
" Bruxells

" This is to let you know that I
" received yours of the laſt of Oct
" with the incloſed and y^t^ I returned
" anſwers to them all upon the 20
" of Nov^r^: ſince that I received
" another of the 9 of No^vr^ and an-
" ſwered it upon the 27 of the ſame:
" and this your laſt of the 15 of Nov^r^
" in the which I am very ſorry to
" ſee your occaſion to London and
" am much moore troubled with the
" feare that it will too much trouble
" my Mother and yourſelfe, then
" any thing elſſe that can come by
" it, for I do not doubte but that
" God in his good time will thinke
" upon us, and provide moore relife
" then wee doe expect, if we will
" but with patience attende his
" pleaſure, and take noe immoderate

" care, but leave the diſpoſing of
" our affaires of this worlde to his
" good will, who knowes wheither
" want or enough be better for us it
" may be a comfort to us in our
" greateſt miſery to thinke that what
" we ſuffer is not cauſed by our
" owne act, and if it be Gods pleaſure
" that wee ſhoulde live poorely, let
" us be content, and we ſhall be
" happy enough, for my owne parte
" noe thinge can come ſoe ill, but I
" am confident I ſhall be very well
" content with it and frame my
" ſelfe to live accordingly, onely my
" deſier is that if poſſible ſome courſe
" may be taken for you and my mother
" and for us God will provide if wee
" be cairefull to ſerve him and con-
" tent with our misfortunes; for wee
" can adde noe thing but affliction
" to affliction by repineing ſhuch
" accidents as thoſe are not onely in
" Eng: but in other partes, for this

" laſt ſummer in theſe quarters that
" I thought they had enough for
" them and theirs doe now beg theire
" bread and in this towne in a houſe
" where I lived, theire was a rare
" example of a younge woman who
" was borne to an eſtate upon the
" confines of France worth a hun-
" dred poundes a yeare at the leaſt
" and by the ruinnes of the warre
" that had left her noe thing, hath
" lived here three yeares in ſervice
" under theſe that had formerly
" ſerved her father and did the
" meaneſt ſervice of the houſe with
" the ſame chearefullneſſe that thoſe
" doe that never knew other: for
" my arme (?) I doe not much
" thinke of it all though theire may
" ſome thing be donne in it ſhortely,
" yet I ſhall not meddle in it unleſſe
" you thinke fit and that as cautiouſly
" as can be, for in my former letters
I gave you an account how that

" my removall in to france woulde
" be both chargeable and trouble-
" ſome and now to be in it I believe
" will not be very ſafe for the
" troubles that are a beginning and
" to remove in to Holland is to goe
" farther from you for the contrary
" of which I pray to God, with your
" happineſſe, which I ſhall allwaies
" doe whilſt I remaine

" Sr yr moſt dutifull Sonne
" P. M."

" To my deare Mother the Lady
" Margt Monckton
" Deare Mother
" I ſhoulde thinke my ſelfe very
" happy to ſee it oftener under your
" owne hande, that you had that
" happineſſe of health which I ſhall
" ever pray that God may ſende you
" with all other felicities that your
" goodneſſe deſerves, I doubte not
" but that God in his good time will

" ſende us a joyfull Meeteing in the
" interim I beſech you preſent my
" love to my Brother and Siſters and
" the next time you ſende in to Lin-
" colne=ſh I beſech you ſende my
" ſervice a longe with your letters:
" I beg your bleſſeing and I ſhall
" ever remaine Deare Mother
" Yr moſt obedient
" Sonn
" P.M.
" Brux:
" Feb 13 1650."

" To my dear Mother the Lady
" Marg. Monckton this prſent
" Deare Mother
" I am very ſorry to underſtand
" by my Siſter Jane that it is ſoe
" longe ſince you have received my
" duty leaſt you may thinke me
" neglective of that which the great-
" eſt kindneſſe of a moſt loveing
" Mother does oblige me too, I be-

" ſech you believe I have not failed
" to make frequent tenders of my
" duty how ever they have miſ-
" carried, nor never ſhall I be wante-
" ing in any thing wherein I may
" ſhow an obedience to your will;
" I hope my Father's letter will give
" you ſatisfaction, for my beeing
" here and of my Intentions to go
" to Callis as ſoon as theire is con-
" veniency of Shipeing, I beſech you
" preſent my humbleſt ſervice to all
" my good freindes in Lincolne=ſh
" when you writte, and give me
" your bleſſeing and I ſhall ever
" pray for your felicity and re-
" maine

" Deare Mother
" Yo^r^ moſt obedient Sonne
" PH: MONCKTON

" Rotterdam
" May 18
" 1650.—"

" For my deare Mother the Lady
" Margeret Monckton
" Deare Mother
" I lately preſented my duty by
" the way of Rotterdam and then
" deſiered as I doe now to have under
" your owne hande (as often as you
" can) the aſſureance of your happi-
" neſſe, for which I ſhall allwayes
" moſt hartily pray and contribute
" all what lies in my power.
" I beſech you preſent my love to
" my Brother and my Siſters for whoſe
" good and your content I ſhall be
" moſt ready to do any thing you ſhall
" pleaſe to councell me; when you
" pleaſe to commande In the interim
" I ſhall beſech Almighty God for
" your felicity and ever remaine.
" Deare Mother
" Yor moſt obedient Sonne
" Calis " PH: M
" Ju: 26
" 1650"

" To my deare Mother the Lady
" Margret Monckton this
" Deare Mother
" I give you my humble thankes
" for your kinde letter and token
" which I ſhall uſe as frugally as
" may bee; I thanke you for your
" tender caire of me in deſiering to
" know what conveniences I want,
" which thankes be to God is none,
" but that of your company which
" I hope God in his good time will
" ſende us: I am ſorry for my Aunte
" Appleyards death and when you
" have an oportunity to ſend to
" Aſhby and theither I beſech you
" ſend my ſervice a longe with your
" letters I beſech you remember my
" love to my brother Francis who I
" hope is well Allthough I did not
" here of him by any letters that I
" had laſt which makes me wonder
" I beſech you for your bleſſeing and

" I ſhall continnewally pray for your
" felicity and ever remaine
" Deare Mother
" Yr moſt obedient Sonne
" Ph: Monckton
" Calis
" July 16:
" 1650:
" Pray forſooth if you can get two
" paire of ſhuſh gloves as Steven
" Beaſton gave me, will you be
" pleaſed to ſend them to Mr Rhe-
" torick and I ſhall give him di-
" rections how to conveigh them
" heither:"

" For my deare Mother the Lady
" Margret Monckton this
" Deare Mother
" I am not a little joyfull to ſee
" by my fathers letter that wee all
" have the happineſſe of the con-
" tinuance of your health for which
" I ſhall ever pray and moſt dili-

" gently contribute all that lies in
" my power: I beſech you to pardon
" me for beging thoſe gloves of you
" which Mr Booth intends to give
" to the Govenor of this place as a
" great preſent: I humbly beſech
" you to preſent my love to my
" Brother and Siſters, and my freindes
" in Lincolneſh, when you ſend, thus
" beging your bleſſeing I take leave
" ever to remaine
" Deare Mother
" Yor moſt obedient
ſonn
" PH: M
" Calis
" Sept: 2
" 1650"

" To my deare Mother the Lady
" Margret Monckton
" Deare Mother
" This is onely to beg your bleſſe-
" ing and to aſſure you how largely

" I ſhall ever pray for your happi-
" neſſe and alwaies endeavour to doe
" any thing that may be agreeable
" to your will. I have writt to my
" father concerneing that which I
" ſhall not trouble your letter with,
" and it is my humble deſier that
" you will not be troubled at it, for
" if you can willingly under goe
" our misfortunes, I can doe it with
" a great deale of content which I
" doe not doubte, but we ſhall live
" to have in this worlde for all our
" preſent infelicities I beſech you doe
" not trouble yourſelfe therefor at
" any thing (which I too much feare
" not for your owne but for our
" ſakes) and I doe not doubte but
" that God in his good time will
" ſende us a happy meeteing which
" (with that of your ſafety is the con-
" tinewall praier of Deare Mother

" Yo[r] moſt obedient ſonne

" PH : MONCKTON

" My love I be-
" ſech you to my
" Brother and Siſ-
" ters:
" Calis Sept 23
" 1650."

" To my deare Mother the Lady
" Margret Monckton
" Deare Mother
" I thanke you moſt humbly for
" the laſt kinde letter you ſent me,
" in which I ſee your tender caire of
" me ſtill continews by enquireing
" after my health, which thankes be
" to God I have had perfectly well
" ſince it was my happineſſe to ſee
" you; My arme continews much
" as it was, but raither better; I am
" ſorry you make ſhuch an interpre-
" tation of my writteing aboute the
" gloves which I aſſure you was not
" oute of any ſtrangeneſſe, or want
" of love or duty: I intende by the

" permiſſion of my Father and your-
" ſelfe to goe and Winter aboute Par-
" ris, where I ſhall have the company
" of two of my Lord Kilmurries ſon-
" nes with whom I intende to live;
" they are Cheſhire Gentlemen,
" whoſe civility and ſweete Com-
" pany I ſhall be happy in: I beſech
" you preſent my ſervice to my Lin-
" colnſh freindes when you ſende,
" and I ſhall ever pray for your fe-
" licity and beg your bleſſeing, and
" remaine

" Deare Mother
" Yo^{r} moſt obediente ſonne
" P. M.

" Calis Oct: 15
" 1650"

" To my dear Mother the Lady
" Margret Monkton this y^{e} ſent
" Deare Mother
" I writt to you upon my comeing
" from Calis that my journey was

" partely cauſed by the invitation of
" the company of two of my Lord
" Kilmurries ſonnes with whome I
" intende God willing tomorrow
" towards Blois, where a boutes I
" intende to remaine as longe as my
" Father and yourſelfe ſhall pleaſe; I
" ſhoulde be glad to heare oftener
" from you of your happineſſe which
" I hope God will ſende in his good
" time a joyfull meeteing if you be
" but content with thoſe ſeaming
" misfortunes we mette with, which
" I doubte not but you are. I beſech
" you preſent my love to my Brother
" and ſiſters and my ſervice to my
" freindes in Lincoln=ſh and I ſhall
" ever pray for your happineſſe and
" beg your bleſſeing and remaine

" Deare Mother
" Yo^r^ moſt obedient ſonne
" PH. MONKTON

" Paris Nov^r^ 21
" 1650

" I hope the gloves are ſent to
" London for which M^r^ Booth writes
" me worde the Governor of Calis
" aſkes him every day for: "

" For my deare Mother the Lady
" Margret Monkton.
" Deare Mother
" I moſt humbely thanke you for
" your laſt kinde token which with
" all the reſt of your tender kind-
" neſſes I ſhall ever make it my ſtudy
" to deſerve: thankes be to God
" heither to I have had my health
" very well, to which it woulde be
" a great addition to heare often
" from yourſelfe of your owne health,
" which I ſhall ever pray for, which
" I hope God will grante, and in
" his good time ſend a happy meete-
" ing to us, although at preſent I
" heare not onely your countrey, but
" alſoe Lincoln=ſh is troubled with
" commotions amongſt which, and

" all other troubles I doubte not but
" God will be with you and preſerve
" you: I humbly beſech you for your
" bleſſeing and take leave ever to re-
" maine

" Deare Mother
" Yr moſt obedient ſonne
" P. M.

" Blois Jan 1:
" 1651"

" For my deare Mother the Lady
" Monckton
" Deare Mother
" I am much troubled to be ſoe
" longe from you, but moore with
" feare that you ſhoulde be troubled
" for me, or at this accident that has
" befallen Mr Beall, in which I have
" donne what I can but I feare wee
" ſhall have ſome trouble in it: how
" ever Good Mother I beſech you
" be not diſquieted at any thinge
" that may befall us, but let us re-

" ferre our ſelves and all that wee
" have to Gods good pleaſure, who
" in his good time I doubte not but
" will ſende us better thinges, in the
" meane Time let us live with as
" much joy and comfort as we can
" To which ende I ſhall alwaies pray
" God for your felicity, beſeching
" you for your bleſſeing I take leave
" ever to remaine
" Deare Mother
" Yo^r^ moſt obedient ſonne
" PH MONCKTON
" London
" 16 Jan
" 1651
" pray preſent my Brother and
" Siſters with my treweſt love: "

" To my deare Mother the Lady
" Monkton
" Deare Mother
" Since you are pleaſed to thinke
" ſoe well of my frequent preſente-

" ing you with my duty, I ſhall
" returne at the ende of this moneth
" to Ville dieu in Picardy, where I
" ſhall be nearer to oportunities,
" oftener to ſende you my letters,
" than from hence and where I hope
" to be moore happy than I have
" beene of late; in the reception of
" yours the Laſt of which bore date
" the 23 of November. I beſech
" you preſent my Brother and ſiſters
" with my unfained affection and
" when you ſende in to Lincolne=
" ſh be pleaſed to let my ſervice
" goe a longe to all my freindes
" there and I ſhall ever pray for
" your felicity and remaine
" Deare Mother
" Yo^r^ moſt obedient ſonne
" PH: MONCKTON
" Blois March 5:
" 1651"

"To my deare Mother the Lady
"Monkton
"Moſt deare Mother
"The knowledge that I have of
"your kindneſſe to my deare father
"and your love to me makes me
"apprehende that his ſickneſſe and
"my abſence may make you ill too,
"which I beſech God moſt earneſtly
"to defend, and yourſelfe to hinder
"thoſe paſſions and inconveniencyes
"your great caire will cauſe you to
"be ſubject too. Deare Mother it
"does not onely trouble me that I
"cannot bring any helpe to my
"deare ſick father, but that it is
"Gods will that I ſhould be thus
"farre from him, if my comeinge to
"you make cauſe any content to him
"or your ſelfe, I ſhall willingly doe
"it, and if in my abſence you woulde
"have any thing donne in relation
"to his eſtate, either for his ſatisfac-
"tion your owne good or my Brother

" and ſiſters, for Gods ſake let not
" my abſence hinder it, if any thing
" may be donne that you deſier for
" I ſhall well approve of what you
" thinke fit. Deare Mother my
" father in his letter woulde have
" me to returne to Callis, and you
" adviſe me to ſtay ſtill here: this
" next weeke the company that I
" came heither with removes further
" in to the Countrey; and I intend
" to come a day's journey nearer you
" to Orleans, where I ſhall ſtay
" untill I heare from you and not
" goe in to Picardy as I writt to my
" father upon the fift of March for
" I finde it is not now ſoe conveni-
" ent for me to go theither, as it was
" when I then writt, becauſe of the
" invitations I ſhall meete with to
" goe to the ſpaw: Deare Mother
" I beſech you be of good comfort,
" and I doubte not but that God
" will heare, beholde, and conſider

" your afflictions, and in his good
" time helpe you oute of them
" by a ſeaſonable deliverence, which
" that he may with the granting of
" you many happy daies, I ſhall
" allwaies make it my praiers and
" begeing your bleſſeing I ſhall ever
" remaine
" Dear Mother
" Yo^r^ moſt obedient ſonne
" PH: MONKTON
" Blois March 16
" 1651"

" To my deare Mother the Lady
" Monckton this p^r^ſent
" London
" Apr: 6^th^ 1651
" Deare Mother
" I moſt humbely beg your par-
" don for not writteing to you for-
" merly the knowledge that I have
" of your great goodnes and kind-
" neſſe to me gives me hopes that

" you would forgive greater offences
" then that but that ſhall never cauſe
" me to omit the least oportunity of
" preſenting you with my duty which
" I beſech you now accept of in
" beſtoweing your bleſſeing upon
" Deare Mother
" Yo[r] moſt obedient ſonn
" PH: MONCKTON
" I hope to come oute of the
" towne this weeke I ſhall at my
" arrivall give you an account of my
" buſines and your Holland "

" For My deare Mother the Lady
" Monkton
" Deare Mother
" I hope my fathers recovery will
" make this finde you with moore
" content then I coulde expect when
" I writ laſt which conſideration
" cauſed me to conceall that indiſ-
" poſition I was then in, which now
" I dare venture to tell you of with

" out a feare of troubleing you, I
" had then the goute in both my
" feete, but now thankes be to God
" I am well! Deare Mother I hope
" my father will not take it ill if I
" offer to goe hence before I have
" his permiſſion: Mrs Bartews and
" my Coſin Boothe are very earneſt
" to have my company: I have
" beene much obliged to them dure-
" ing my being ill, and eſpecially to
" Nat Boothe; Beſides my Lord
" Kilmurries Sonnes and my Lord
" Cullens ſonne (with whome I lived
" all this winter, and left me one of
" there ſervants dureing my being
" ill, when they coulde not ſtay any
" longer themſelves), have earneſtly
" deſiered me by generall letters, to
" come and ſee them at Chinon (a
" Towne where they now live in the
" way to Richelieu) before they goe
" further in to the Countreys towards
" Italy: deare Mother I humblely

" beſech you preſent my humble
" ſervice to all my freinds in Lin-
" col=ſh and elſe wheare, and I
" ſhall ever pray for your felicity,
" beging your bleſſeing I take leave
" ever to remaine
" Dear Mother
" Yor moſt obedient ſonne
" PH: MONKTON
" Blois May 4
" 1651"

" For My deare Mother the Lady
" Monkton
" Deare Mother
" In my laſt to my father I de-
" ſiered him to crave my pardon of
" you for my not then returneing of
" you my humble thankes for your
" kinde letter, I am very joyfull to
" ſee by it that you are ſoe well
" reſolved to under goe what afflic-
" tions it pleaſeth God to ſende us
" who (for that patience) will in his

" good time I hope comforte us and
" ſende us a joy full meeteing which
" I as much deſier as may be but
" ſhal waive it untill it pleaſe God
" to ſende the times moore conveni-
" ent for, in the interim I ſhall con-
" tinue to pray God for your felicity
" humbly beging your bleſſeing I
" ſhall ever remaine
" Deare Mother
" Yor moſt obedient ſonne
" PHILL: MONKTON
" Saumur
" Jan 30
" 1651
" I beſech you preſent my love
" to my Brother and ſiſters, with
" my humble ſervice to all my
" freindes in Lincol^{n}ſhire"

" To My deare Mother the Lady
" Monkton this p^{r}ſent
" Deare Mother "Saumur
" Aug ii
" 1651

"I am very joy full to ſee by
" yours of the 9th of June that my
" father hath his health which with
" yours I ſhall ever pray God to
" continew: thankes be to God I
" have my health well at preſent: I
" humbly thanke you for your love-
" ing caire of me in deſiering to
" know what I want, thankes be to
" God I live well of this allowance,
" and ſhall doe of leſſe, if you thinke
" it convenient; I have given my
" father an accounte how I intende
" ſhortely to be moveing towards
" Calis in the interim I beſech you
" for your bleſſeing and I ſhall ever
" remaine

" Yor moſt obedient ſonn
" PH: MONKTON

" I beſech you preſent my humble
" ſervice to all my freindes in Lin-
" colne=ſh when you ſende."

" To My deare Mother the Lady
" Monton this p^ſent
" Deare Mother
" When I writt to you from Sau-
" mur I thought then to have beene
" nearer Calis at this time but at Or-
" leans I met with ſome that adviſed
" me not to omit the oportunity of
" going to Bourbon where I am well
" arrived thankes be to God I pour-
" poſe to ſtay here three weekes and
" then returne againe in the interim
" I ſhall pray God for your felicity
" beſeching your bleſſeing I ſhall
" ever remaine
" Deare Mother
" Your moſt obedient ſonne
" PH: MONCTON
" Bourbon
" Sep 1
" 1651 "

" To my deare Mother the Lady
" Moncton
" Deare Mother
" I writt to you from Bourbon
" the occaſion of my goeing theither,
" I hope my journey hath donne
" me good although it was very ex-
" penſive, and made very ill when I
" was there; I beſech you preſent
" my love to my Brother and Siſters
" and I beg your bleſſeing with my
" prayers for your felicity and that it
" may pleaſe God to fende us a happy
" meeteing I take leave ever to re-
" maine
" Deare Mother
" Yo^r^ moſt obedient ſonne
" PH: MONCTON
" Orleans
" Oct^r^
" 1651"

" To My deare Mother the Lady
" Moncton this prſent
" Moſt Deare Mother
" By Gods permiſſion I hope the
" time now will not be longe eare I
" have the happineſſe to receive your
" bleſſeing and ſee you which I hope
" you believe I as paſſionately deſier,
" as any ſonne can doe that has ſoe
" deare a Mother, I beſech you pre-
" ſent my perfect love to my Brother
" and Siſters and I ſhall ever pray for
" your felicity and remaine
" Deare Mother
" Yor moſt obedient ſonne
" PH: MONCTON
" Paris
" Novr 18
" 1651"

(Without an addreſs)
" Deare Mother
" I now hope ſhortely to be happy
" in ſeein of you for it hath pleaſed

" God to bring me thus fare ſaifely
" towards you I have here met with
" Mar Wilt-ſhire who tells me that
" you are ſubject ſometimes to be
" afflicted with the thoughts of our
" misfortunes, Good Mother doe
" not greive at any thinge that has
" or may befall us but reſolve as I
" doe to take chearefully and con-
" tentedly what ſoever it pleaſeth
" the Lord to ſende and I doubte not
" but that in his god (?) time wee
" ſhall feele the effects of his favour,
" which that you may doe with joy
" and comfort ſhall be the daly prayer
" of

" Deare Mother
" Yr moſt obedient ſonne
" PH: MONCTON

" London
" Decr 27
" 1651"
" To the Lady Monkton at Cavell
" neare Howden let this goe in

" the by bag to Doncaſter in York-
" ſhire.

" poſt paid

" Deare Mother

" I writt the two laſt poaſtes to
" my father to let him know that
" Mr Paine had a thouſand pounde
" which woulde be ready upon the
" firſt of December he expects two
" thouſand pound a yeare for the
" ſecurity of it, it will be had at 6
" y^{r} [1] and it is thought here a
" bargaine not to be neglected. I
" believe that happily my father may
" be corned [2] already on his journey
" if he like it, and therefore this is
" to intreate you leaſt my laſt might
" miſcarry, that if he have not
" brought alonge with him both our
" orders from Haberdaſhers hall that
" you would looke them out and

[1] Something illegible.

[2] There is almoſt certainly a miſreading here.

" ſende them cairefully and ſpeedely
" to us. Good Mother I beſech you
" have a caire of your health and
" then I doubte not but that wee
" ſhall doe well for I doubt not of
" Gods bleſſeing in his good time if
" wee be content, thus beſeching you
" for your bleſſeing I take leave ever
" to remaine

" Deare Mother
" Yo^r moſt obedient ſonne
" PH: MONCKTON

" London
" Nov^r 12
" 1653"

" To S^r Francis Monckton at Cavell
" Let this goe in the by bag to
" Doncaſter

" poſt paide
" 3^d

" Deare Father
" I am very ſorry that you ſhoulde
" be ſad that I have not yet obtained

" my liberty, I beſech you not to be
" troubled at it for I doubte not but
" to gett my liberty in Gods good
" time: Cap^{t}: Bradforth for whome
" I am very much beholden hath
" beene with me every day all moſt
" this three weekes waiteing to get an
" oportunity to ſpeake with his high-
" nes and my Lord Lambert which
" his Highnes hath comānded us to
" attende, but as yet wee can not
" get the oportunity of findeing my
" Lord Lambert with his Highnes
" when they are not in buſines, as
" ſoone as I can come to ſpeake with
" them I hope, I ſhall have my li-
" berty: as for my expences they are
" not ſoe great as that I would have
" you to trouble your ſelfe by ſende-
" ing me any money for I thanke
" God I want none and am very
" well, if you pleaſe you may direct
" your letters for me to M^{r} Rheto-
" ricks and I ſhall get them con-

" veighed to me. I deſier to know
" what you have donne about your
" tenth part if you have beene called
" on in the interim I ſhall pray for
" your felicity and ever remaine
" Sr
" Yor moſt obedient ſonne
" PH: MONCKTON
" Lambeth
" Dec iith
" 1655."

" For his much honoured Coſen
" Sr Phillip Monckton. Theſe pre-
" ſent Leave this at Sr William
" Wentworths houſe in the Pall
" Mall neare the Katherine wheele
" London
" Deare Sr Phillip
" I have nott receaved any thinge
" a long time with ſoe much wel-
" come acceptance as your letter by
" the laſt poſt, which brought the
" good newes off your deliverance ;

" when all was given for gone it
" was reported here that your Coun-
" ſell was taken off and your other
" friends grew cold in the buſineſs,
" the judges all againſt you, and the
" jury you know who, & what ob-
" ligations many off them have from
" him, that all y^t^ I mett with both
" friends and others thought the bu-
" ſineſſe att an end (ſed finis coronat
" opus) now I imagine they will be
" on another judgement, and he may
" expect judgement and juſtice from
" the parlament, who ſurely will
" ſtick for the freedome off the people,
" againſt ſuch arbitrary exactions, and
" appoint a ſett rule hereafter, and
" ſenſure him for what he hath done.

" My wife preſents you and my
" Lady with her moſt faithfull re-
" ſpectes & ſervice; I aſſure you when
" I rede her your letter ſhe was much
" better and chearfuller, although
" ſhe then was very ill; ſhe takes no

" kinde reſt, not being able to lie
" ſtill for a quarter off an hour to-
" gether, her ſtomach and body being
" ſoe ſwelled, that ſhe hath much
" adoe to gett breath, when her ill
" fit is on her, and ſome times ſhe
" is a little better, but at the beſt ſhe
" is in a ſad condition, and when the
" cold weather comes I aſſure my
" ſelfe, ſhe cannot eſcape if ſhe life
" ſoe longe. I acquainted Mr John
" Wentworth this morninge with
" your proceedings, he was very
" thankfull for the newes, and pre-
" ſents you & my Lady with his
" faithfull ſervice and ſoe doth

" Sr
" Your moſt affectionate
" Coſen and ſervant
" MARMA: BERRIE

" Hodroide
" 20 Junii
" 69" (1669)

" For Sr Phillip Monckton Knight
" A Member of Parliament. London
" Leave this at the Parliament doore.
" Sutton Novr 15th 75 (1675)
" Honoured Couſin
" Yours of the ninth inſtant was
" as joyfull to me, as health after
" long ſickneſs; I was ready to write
" to my Couſin Moſley to enquire
" after yours, and your Lady's Well-
" fare, which I ever affectionately
" wiſhed and now hope you both
" enjoy; I returne my due thanks
" for your kind remembrance of Us
" here, and for the favour you ſoe
" willingly vouchſafe in giveing us
" the preſent occurrences, which are,
" and will be moſt gratefully received
" by, Sr
" Your moſt obliged
" Couſin and Servant
" JAMES DAVENPORT
" Both our humble ſervice waits
" on your ſelfe and Lady "

[Copied from a detached paper
Sutton & Dudley
I: Sutton L Dudley H: 3d

"Sayer Sutton Lord Dudley as "ſome ſay but I finde not any of "the name were Lords before John "Sutton L: Dudley as after in this "booke appeareth. The moſt aun- "cient houſe is Sutton of Sutton in "Cheſhire nere Maxfield. David "Baron of Malpas in Cheſhire mar- "ried Conſtance, daughter and heire "called Beatrixe married to Jo: "Paganells Erle of Somery and Lord "Dudley, who by him had a daughter "called Izabell married unto Sir "Richard Sutton Knight father unto "John Sutton Lord Dudley.

"Robert Clyfford Lord of the "Caſtle of Flint in Wales of "whom the Lord Clyfford nowe "Erle of Comberland is deſcended "John Sutton the ſonne of Sr "Richard Sutton was L. Dudley in

" the right of his Mother Izabell
" daughter and heire of Jo: Paga-
" nells L: Dudley, which Jo: Pa-
" ganells married the daughter and
" heire of David Baron of Malpas.—
" After this Jo: Sutton were 5 ſuc-
" ceſſively L: Dudleys and all named
" John: which laſt to ſay the 6
" John had 3 ſonnes, Edward of
" whome the L. Dudley is deſcen-
" ded: William Biſhop of Durham,
" and John father to Edmond was
" father to John Dudley (or Sutton)
" Duke of Northumberland.

" Ralphe Crumwell of whome
" deſcended the Lord Crumwell that
" was ſlaine at Barnett field on the
" part of E: 4.

" Gregory Cromwell Lord Crom-
" well father to the Lord Cromwell
" nowe livinge."

An original letter from the Earl of Hertford to William Monckton

Eſq., who was then a Captaine of foot in Scotland. Grandfather of the firſt Sir Philip Monckton.

" After my right hearty comẽda-
" cons.—For as much as the kinges
" ancient enemies, the Scottes and
" Frenchemen; of there malice
" againſt this realme, entending by
" all meanes they canne poſſible, both
" by ſea and lande with mayne ar-
" myes, to annoy the ſame in ſuche
" places as they ſhall think to doo
" mooſte harme, be now aſſembled
" with a mayne power to make in-
" vacone into this realme.—For re-
" ſiſtance of whoſe malice, and pre-
" ſervacone of the Kinges Ma^tie's
" realme it is requiſite and neceſſarie
" farthwithe to levie an armye royall
" of his Subiects, within the lymyttes
" of my commiſſion to repulſe his
" ſaid enemies.—For putting where-
" of in a more readineſs the Earl of

" Shrewſbury, then the King's Lieu-
" tenant directed late his letters, un-
" to all ſhires within his commiſſion,
" warning all men to be in readineſs
" by the 12th day of May laſt paſt,
" for the purpoſe aforeſaid to march
" forwards upon a new warning, to
" be given unto them by proclama-
" tion or otherwiſe; not doubting,
" but ye receiving the ſaid com-
" mandment, be now in good red-
" dineſſe in that behalf.

" I therefore will and deſire you,
" and nevertheleſs in the king's
" Majeſty's name ſtraightly charge
" and command you forthwith to
" ſet and march forwards, yourſelf
" in perſon with the number pre-
" ſcribed to you, of your ſervants,
" tenants, and others within your
" neighbourhood and offices, to be
" choſen and picked men, where of
" the fourth part of your ſaid num-
" ber to be very good archers, fur-

" nished every one with a bow of
" yew, and twenty four arrows in a
" ſheaf, and his dagger and his
" ſword, or mall of lead or iron,
" and the reſt of your ſaid number
" to have every of them, a good
" bill, with his dagger, making
" as many of your ſaid numbers
" as ye may to be horſemen,
" with ſpears, or to be archers
" horſed, of that ſort that they
" may be able to do ſervice, when
" they ſhall come to the borders.
" And that ye repair with all ſpeed
" to Newcaſtle, to be there the 20th
" day of this month, where ye ſhall
" receive ſuch reaſonable, and ordi-
" nary allowance, as in ſuch caſes
" hath been accuſtomed, at the
" arrival of your ſaid company to
" the place aforeſaid; bringing with
" you all ſuch proviſion of victuals
" and carriages, as ye may, for the
" furniture of your ſaid number.

"Fail ye not hereof, upon pain of "your allegiance, and as ye tender "the wealth of the realm.

"From Newcaſtle, the 12th day "of Auguſt, 1545.

"Your loving friend

"E. HERTFORD."[1]

The above letter is addreſſed as follows, "To my "loving friend, "William Monck-"ton Eſq."

William Moncton was called upon by the Lord Warden of the Marſhes to bring into the field the Quota of Men, which he was obliged to furniſh on account of his eſtate, and which depended upon

[1] Edward Seymour, brother-in-law of Henry VIII., created Earl of Hertford, 18 Oct. 1537; Duke of Somerſet, 16 Feb. 1547; beheaded 1552.

how much he held be knight ſervice. His ſon Chriſtopher Moncton (as the name was then ſpelt) was Member of Parliament for Appleby in the reign of Elizabeth. Appleby belonged to the Clifford Family, and Mrs. Moncton (the wife of William) was Granddaughter to Lord Clifford and Couſin German to the 1ſt Earl of Cumberland of the Clifford family.

Sir Philip Monckton, the ſubject of this memoir, married Anne Eyre, daughter to Robert Eyre of Haſſop and of Highlow in Derbyſhire, Eſq., anceſtor of the preſent Earl Newburgh. Sir Philip ſerved ſome time as M.P. for Scarborough.

APPENDIX.

AN Impartial and true Relation of the Great Victory obtained through the bleſſing of God, after a very ſharpe diſpute, by the conjoyned Forces of Lincolne, Nottingham, Leceſter, Derby, and Rutland under the command of Col Edw. Roſſeter, with a Liſt of the names and number of Priſoners, Colours, Armes, and Carriages taken on Tueſday July 5. 1648.

Die Sabbathi, July 8, 1648.

Ordered by the Commons aſſembled in Parliament that this Narrative of the fight in Willoughby fields in the County of Nottingham between the Parliament Forces under the command of Col. Edward Roſſeter

and the Forces under the command of Sir Philip Mounkton on Wedneſday July 5. 1648 be forthwith printed and publiſhed

H ELSINGE
Cler. Parl. D. Com.

London Printed by Edw. Griffin July 11 1648

On Fryday the 30 of June about 400 horſe from Pomfret Caſtle, moſt of them gentlemen of ſeverall Countyes and Reformado officers and 200 Foot ferryed over Trent and made incurſion into Lincolne-ſhire, marching forthwith to the City of Linc.; where after they had by warrant under the hand of Sir Philip Monkton their Generall, releaſed all the priſoners in the Caſtle for Debt, Murther, Felony, and other crimes (who took up Armes preſently with them) They went to the Biſhops Pallace, wherein lay ſeverall Armes, and ſome monyes of the Countryes: which place Capt.

Bee, a wollen Draper of that City with 30 men had taken poſſeſſion of and defended for 3 houres untill the Cavaliers had fired one part of the houſe. In which Capt. Bee reſolved, and ſo told them, he would be conſumed, unleſſe he might ſurrender upon conditions propounded by him, amongſt which the protection of his perſon and eſtate, the which they agreed too; no ſooner was the Pallace delivered but all conditions broke, the Capt. ſeized and carryed away priſoner, untill releaſed in the field at the following fight. All his wares and goods put in Carts with which and the Armes and mony found in the Pallace, together with the plunder, and perſons of other honeſt men of the Towne they marched on Saturday night to Gainſborough 12 miles off.

This Alarum coming that Friday night to Bevoyer Caſtle to Col.

Roſſiter (who was there upon ſome occaſions of the country) he forthwith gave the alarum to Northampton, Leiceſter, Nottingham, Darby and Rutland and deſired them to ſpare what horſe they could, to joyne with a Troop of horſe lately raiſed by him by authority of Parliament for the Security of that county, and he would therewith endeavour to drive the enemy out of the Countrey againe. The which forces being conjoined on Sabbath Evening, to the number of 550 (all of them newly raiſed men) and then underſtanding by a Letter received from Sir Henry Cholmely that 600 Yorkeſhire horſe with ſome Dragoones were on the North ſide of Trent about Gainſborrow, who would interrupt their retreating over Trent to Pomfret againe, or fight with them if they came over; Col. Roſſiter marched on Munday morning towards

Gainſborrow: In the midway thither, there met and joyned with him a Troop of horſe from Lyn, which the Generall had put under the command of Capt. Taylor, who together refreſhed that night in and about Waddington fields 3 miles South of Lincolne. On Tueſday morning by three a Clock, they marched through Lincolne towards Gainſborow, and underſtanding by a Lincolne man (who had been taken away priſoner by the Cavaliers, (and had eſcaped them that night) that the Enemy were all drawn of from Gainſborow at 10 of the clock on Munday Evening and were marched towards Newark; Col: Roſſiter forthwith purſued 18 miles that night, refreſhed his horſe 4 or 5 hours in the night in a meadow, a mile from Newark, where he received intelligence that the enemy quartered about Bingham 6 miles before him;

to this place came in to Roſſiters further aſſiſtance about 150 horſe, the one halfe from Derby and Rutland, the other halfe were Gentlemen and Freeholders of Lincolne, and Leiceſterſhire, who voluntarily would adventure their lives for their Countryes freedome. On Wedneſday morning Roſſiter commanded out a forlorne hope 150 of the ableſt horſe, under the command of Capt. Champion of Nottingham-ſhire to purſue at a faſt Rate, and ſo by falling on the enemies Reere to enforce them to a ſtand on halt, till he with the body of horſe could come up to them. They after 7 miles advance overtooke the Reere of them, whom ſkirmiſhing with, made their body of horſe and foot conſiſting of 7 or 800 at leaſt, to draw up in a large Beane field belonging to Willoughby 7 miles from Nottingham, on which Roſſiter being informed from the

commander of the forlorn, by marching at a full Trot (having no Dragoones or foot with him) within a ſhort time brought his horſe into the field himſelfe commanding the right wing wherein he reſolved to charge. But obſerving that the enemies ſtrength was placed in their body, conſiſting of a party of foot winged with horſe, and thoſe horſe flanked with Muſketeers, and that with them the men of beſt quallity (as appeared by their outward Garbes) ſeemed to be mounted; he reſolved to Charge the Battaile, aſſigning his right wing to be commanded by Col. White, and the left wing be Col. Hacker, placing 2 reſerves of horſe in the Reere, being ſuddainely thus ordered, the enemies word (Jeſus) and Roſſiters (Fairefax) he advanced to the charge, who was received with much reſolution. The bodies and reſerves through eagerneſſe cloſe to-

gether; whereby the encounter proved very ſharpe, both ſides falling preſently to Swords point, and ſo continued in cloſe fight neither party giving ground for ſome Space, till by the fierceneſſe of each party both were put into diſorder, being ſo intermixt doing execution each on other, the diſpute continued a while doubtfull, at laſt it pleaſed God to give a full and abſolute victory to Roſſiters forces, as may appeare by the quallity and number of priſoners taken; all their Colours, Armes, and Carriages. about 200 that were beſt horſed (whereof diverſe Papiſts) got off in ſmall parties, ſeverall of them wounded, but at leaſt a hundred of them, were that night and next morning taken in their flight by Leiceſter, Belvoier, Burly and other honeſt country-men amongſt whom was Sir Philip Mounkton their Generall diſarmed and brought into

Nottingham by Mr Boyer a high Conſtable of that County, who deſervedly now wears his ſword.

In the firſt charge Col Roſſiter loſt his head-piece, received a ſhot through the right thigh, and ſome other painful wounds with a muſket Bullet, notwithſtanding which he kept the field fighting, till he ſaw the battaill wholly wonne, not diſcovering his wounding to any perſon, for feare it might prove a diſcourage to the Souldiers: after which ready to fall through loſſe of blood, he rode to Nottingham where he lieth capable of recovery, through the bleſſing of God upon the meanes uſed to that end. In this ſervice, Col Hacker (commander of the Leiceſter horſe) who is wounded, and Col White (commander of the Nottingham horſe, having only his noſe cut) merrited much honour for their expreſſed valour. And no leſſe

is deſerved by all the Captaines, Officers and Souldiers, who being all newly raiſed men, and mounted upon new bought horſes (ſaving Capt. Taylors Troope and 40 of Belvoier horſe commanded by Lievt Deane, who likewiſe is ſlightly wounded) yet not one of them, nor the country-men, who were ſtrangers to ſuch hard ſervice, was obſerved to turne his backe, during the whole brunt. And as it is confeſſed by the priſoners taken, That the advantage they apprehended they had againſt Roſſiters men by reaſon of their new liſting, gave them as great encouragement to encounter them (had they been double the number) as confidence to have beaten and ruined them, ſo the victory is ſolely to be aſcribed to the power and goodneſſe of God: who therein hath fulfilled in part, that which is foretold by the prophet concerning the great things which

his people ſhall performe in the diſtruction of his and their enemies That the feeble ſhall become as David, and the ſtronge ſhall become as an Angel of God in Heroick Actions.[1]

Not above 30 of Roſſiters men ſlaine upon the place the Cornet to his own Troop being the higheſt Officer, at whoſe fall his colours were loſt and for a while in the enemies hands, until Cornet Ridgeley, a reformado in the Same Troop recovered them; Captain Greenwood who commanded [the] Derby Troop dangerouſly wounded, and ſo are many other common Souldiers.

About an houre after the fight there came in two gallant troopes of horſe from Northampton who had been in ſooner but the croſſe marching of the enemy, impeaded their finding

[1] The paſſage referred to is *Zechariah* xii. 8.

us ſooner, who preſently advanced in purſuit of them.

Sir Henry Cholmely alſo with 600 Yorke-ſhire horſe came then up to us over Nottingham Bridge by whoſe lying on the North ſide Trent, and preventing the enemies Retreat that way, was this opportunity gained of fighting them; thoſe York-ſhire horſe, the next day advanced to aſſiſt other Yorke-ſhire forces already there, to block up Pomfret Caſtle; the enemy having in the Caſtle and Towne about 60 horſe and 600 foot.

By ſeverall Letters taken in their Generall Officers Pockets, it appears that men of high and low degree in Severall Countyes (before unſuſpected) are deeply engaged in the promoting and contributing toward a general riſing in many parts, ſome of the Priſoners affirme That their Army reſolved to have marched Southward through Leiceſter-ſhire

and Northampton-ſhire, in whoſe march they doubted not but to have encreaſed to many thouſands, and to have joyned with others, riſing about London, and to have raiſed Colcheſter Siege

A Liſt of the Names of the Officers and Gentlemen taken Priſoners.

Sir Philip Mounkton, Generall.
Col. Robert Portington, Lievt. Generall[1]
Gilbert Byron (who attempted to betray Nottingham Caſtle) Major General, wounded
Col. Edward Pocklington.
Col. Chomley.

[1] Some account of this brave officer is to be found in Hunter's *South Yorkshire*, i. 213. He lies buried in Arkſey Church. The inſcription on his tombſtone is, "Hic ſepultus fuit Robertus Portington, Strategus: Miles inſignis, principique fidelis. Obiit 23° die Decembris, 1660."

Lievt. Col. Ralph Aſhton
Lievt. Col. Stamp, ſlaine

Majors

Walter Sulterſtone.
Thomas Scot.
Fitch Randol.
Thomas Scot.
George Roberts.
Sir Roger Coopers two Sons of Nottingham-ſhire the one a Lievt. Col. the other a Captaine.

Captaines

John Elvidge.
Jo. Rich.
Tho. Money.
Will. Bates
Rich. Bradſhaw
Clifton Roades.
Anthony Wright.
Capt. Pinckett.
Capt. Dayle.

Thomas Bird who releaſed the priſoners in Lincoln Caſtle
Edmund Muncton.
Arthur Lee
Cap. Downes.
Will. Saltmarſh

Lievtenants.

Robert White.
Joh. Gridditch
Edward Blundivill
Henry Heſſells
Lievt Bradwell
Marmaduke Dilman [1]
Foure Cornets
Two Enſignes beſides ſeveral other Officers amongſt the common Soldiers who will not yet diſcover their qualities

[1] A miſprint for Marmaduke Dolman. He lived at Bottesford near Brigg, Lincolnſhire, and was buried there, 20 December, 1654. His eſtate was confiſcated by Act of Parliament in 1652. See Mabel Peacock's *Index of Royaliſts whoſe eſtates were confiſcated during the Commonwealth*, p. 45.

44 Gentlemen of quality whoſe names are inſerted afterwards, ſeverall of whom, have been Officers formerly

500 Common Souldiers taken, many of them wounded

10 Colours of horſe and foot where of the greateſt part in Clokebagges not delivered out

1 Waggon and 7 other Carriages with Armes Ammunition and other Baggage

About 400 horſe taken 100 ſlaine upon the place

The names of ſeveral Gentlemen taken Priſoners, whoſe habitations are in ſeverall Counties.

Gentlemen.

George Metam Eſq
Peter Conſtable
Joſeph Conſtable
Robert Riddull
Will. Skellin

Simon Morſen
John Hickman
Gervaſe Hewett
William Furdey
John Roads
Henry Hopkins
Thomas Dunkin
Marke Johnſon
Iulian Wombwell
Rob. Stevens
Edw. Downing
Robert Lanckton
Anthony Savell
Will. Marſton
Chriſtopher Cole
Thomas Mourley
Ralph Roſton
Brookes
John Harfull
Wood
Peter Jackſon
Siſſill Leek
Fitchrandall
James Barlow

James Hopkinſon
John Gamble
Rob. French
Rob. Garriſon
Francis Waters
Edmund Crathorn
Will. Laſſals
Edward Booth
Gabriel Armſtrong
Thomas Thornton
Richard Shellin
Thomas Brigam
John Miller
Two Loves of Derby-ſhire bretheren, one taken the other ſlaine.

Their Generals order to releaſe the priſoners in Lincoln caſtle.

To M^rs^ Smith Keeper of the Caſtle at Lincoln and to the priſoners there or her deputy or Deputies.

Theſe are to will and require you and every of you, that forthwith

upon ſight here of you releaſe the bodies of Such and every of ſuch as you have in your cuſtody who are there committed upon malice, and for their loyalty to his Majeſty, rather than any other Sufficient ground. And at the requeſt of the bearer hereof Tho Bird, Captain, who hath been theſe two yeers here unjuſtly impriſoned for his Majeſties cauſe, who will intimate to you ſuch perſones as he upon oath knows worthy of their liberty, you are to deliver ſuch men to him for their inlargement of the which faile not as you will anſwer the contrary at your perill. Given under my hand this firſt day of July 1648

PHILIP MONKTON.

Col. Portington and Cap. Thomas Bird ſee this warrant executed.

According to this Warrant, I Thomas Bird do ſet at liberty (con-

trary to law) all the men within the caſtle and goale of Lincoln and alſo the bodies of Hellen Cooke, Mary Saule, Anne Penneſton, Anne Readmell and Avis Oſtler* witneſſe my hand this firſt of July 1648

THO. BIRD.

It is required that Thomas Goodwin Gent. be releaſed according to the command of

PHILIP MONKTON.

* Some of the women were committed for killing their baſtard children.

FINIS.

EXTRACTS FROM THE *Hiſtorical Collections* OF JOHN RUSHWORTH, Part iv. vol. ii. 1701.

"The Poſt Letters from the "North were this Week inter-

" cepted. From Belvoir Caſtle
" June 30 came as followeth, 'The
" Enemy at Pontefract Caſtle ſtill
" go on at pleaſure, taking and
" plundering whom they pleaſe, and
" yet pleaſe to deal ſo with none
" but thoſe who have been moſt
" active for the Parliament. Having
" quitted the Iſle of Axholme, they
" came towards Lincoln and [July
" 3] yeſterday Entred the City,
" plundered the Houſe of Captain
" Pert, who is now in arms in
" Northumberland for the Parlia-
" ment, and may do as much for
" them and many others, to the
" great Damage if not Ruine of
" them. They have Priſoners Cap-
" tain Bees, Captain Fines and
" others; Colonel Roſſiter was at a
" diſtance. They went further on
" and took Priſoner Mr. Ellis, they
" brag they have 3000 liſted in
" Lincolnſhire; but there are divers

"Thouſands in Leiceſter, Derby,
"Rutland and Lincolnſhire who are
"ready to join againſt theſe.'

"They killed one Mr Smith in
"Lincoln, belonging to the Sequeſ-
"tration," p. 1174.

"Letters this day [July 8] to the
"Houſe from Col. Roſſiter, from
"Nottingham July 6. That he had
"met with the Pontefract Forces
"upon their return after their plun-
"dering Voyage, and engaged them
"at a Place called Willoughby-
"Field, routed their whole Party,
"conſiſting of about 1000, took
"600 Horſe and their Riders, the
"Commander in Chief, and all his
"officers, all their Bag and Baggage,
"the reſt routed but not many
"ſlain; Colonel Roſſiter unhappily
"wounded in the Thigh. Captain
"Harwood who brought the letters
"had £100 given him by Order of
"the Houſe," p 1182.

The following document in Sir Philip Monckton's handwriting has been found by the Right Honble. Viſcount Galway, ſince the former papers were printed. It relates to the taxes levied for the pay of the ſoldiers under his command.

A note of all ye . . . . y^t^ hath bene . . . . laſt yeare 1647 as appeares by tenn ſeverall ſeſes vnder y^e^ ſeſſors hands.

The firſt January ye 11^th^ 1646
The which ſes was for ye Conſtable, & it comes to in all ye ſum of £5 15*s.* 4*d.*
Thorpe field beinge of ye ſaid ſes ye ſum of 18*s.* 4*d.*
The ſecond ſes ffebruary ye 19^th^ 1646
The which was for Captaine Legard & his ſoldiers & it came in all to ye ſum of £11 10*s.* 8*d.*

Thorpe field being of ye ſame ye ſum of £1 16*s.* 8*d.*
The third ſes March ye 20th 1646
The which ſes was for Captaine Legard and his ſoldiers & it came in all to ye ſum of £11 10*s.* 8*d.*
Thorpe field being of ye ſaid ſes ye ſum of £1 16*s.* 8*d.*
The fourth ſes Aprill ye 20th 1647
The which ſes was for Captaine Legard & his ſoldiers & it came in all to ye ſum of £11 10*s.* 8*d.*
Thorpe field being of ye ſaid ſes ye ſum of £1 16*s.* 8*d.*
The fift ſes May ye 20th 1647
The which ſes was for Captaine Legard & his ſoldiers & it came to in all, to the ſum of £11 10*s.* 8*d.*
Thorpe field being of ye ſaid ſes ye ſum of £1 16*s.* 8*d.*
The ſixt ſes Auguſt ye 16th 1647
The which ſes was for Maior Rokeſ-

by & his ſoldiers & it came in all to ye ſum of £5 15*s.* 4*d.*
Thorpe field being of ye ſaid ſes ye ſum of £0 18*s.* 4*d.*
The ſeventh ſes Auguſt ye 28th 1647
The ſes beinge for Maior Rokeſby & his ſoldiers & it came in all to ye ſum of £5 15*s.* 4*d.*
Thorpe field beinge of ye ſaid ſes ye ſum of £0 18*s.* 4*d.*
The eight ſes September ye 8th 1647
The which ſes was for Maior Rokesby & his ſoldiers & it came in all to ye ſum of £2 17*s.* 8*d.*
Thorpe field beinge of ye ſaid ſes ye ſum of £0 9*s.* 2*d.*
The ninth ſes September ye 28th 1647
The which ſes was for Collonell Copleys ſoldiers & it came in all to ye ſum of £5 15*s.* 4*d.*
Thorpe field being of ye ſaid ſes ye ſum of £0 18*s.* 4*d.*

The tenth ſes for October ye 6th
1647
The which ſes was for Collonell Copleys ſoldiers & it came in all to ye ſum of £5 15s. 4d.
Thorpe field beinge of ye ſaid ſes ye ſum of £0 18s. 4d.
The 11th ſes November ye firſt 1647
The which was for Captaine Goodrick & it comes to £8 2s. 6d.
Thorpe field beinge of ye ſame £1 7s. 6d.
The ſum of ye which tenn ſeſes comes in all to ye ſum of £77 17s. 6d.
Thorpe field aſſeſes for ye ſaid eleven aſſeſments comes to, in all, ye ſum of 14—14—7
The 12th ſes december ye 2d 1647
The which was for Cap. Goodrick & it comes to £8 2s. 6d.
Thorpe field beinge of ye ſame £1 7s. 1d.
The 13th aſſes December ye 15th 1647

The which was for Captaine Goodrick & it comes to 11—15—6
Thorpe field being of ye ſame 1—16—8
Of this aſſeſſment there is payd but fiue ſhillings.
January the 22th tothr Conſtable for one moneths aſſes 1—17—6
ffebruary the firſt for the ſixe moneths aſſeſſment
The whole ſume is £21—13—6
Of which ſume there is payd ſince michaelmaſſe the ſume of £9 2*s*. 6*d*.
Md there is to be paid by me thirtie ſhillinges, if the Conſtable can make it appeare that he hath diſburſed it, but he accountes for 6 month rates and can make but 5 appeare
The diſburſements of Robert Hudſon
Imprimis to Gervaiſe Morton 1—6
It. for cryinge the ſale of woad 0—4

It. paide to Walter Blakeſton
for the Iriſh aſſeſſment 14—3
It. payd to Thomas for the
poore 5—4
The ſume is one pound on ſhilling
fiue pence
It. payd to the conſtable 4—4

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS FROM SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE TO THE REV. JOHN PRIOR ESTLIN.

COMMUNICATED BY HENRY A. BRIGHT.

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS

From Samuel Taylor Coleridge to the Rev. John Prior Estlin.

THE accompanying very intereſting letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge have been kindly placed at my diſpoſal by Miſs Eſtlin, of Clifton. They were addreſſed to her grandfather, the Rev. Dr. Eſtlin, who was the Unitarian miniſter of the Lewin's Mead Congregation at Briſtol. Dr. Eſtlin appears to have been a man of conſiderable ability and very highly reſpected; and it is clear that during the earlier part of Coleridge's career he exerted a remarkable influence over him. Theſe letters range from 1796 to 1814, and are eſpecially

curious as ſhowing, more fully than has hitherto been done, the circumſtances under which Coleridge adopted and afterwards relinquiſhed the profeſſion of a Unitarian miniſter.

Two diſtinguiſhed literary men have ſpoken of the time, to which the moſt important of theſe letters refer. In Hazlitt's "My firſt acquaintance with Poets," which he contributed to "The Liberal," he ſpeaks of walking, when a boy, ten miles to Shrewſbury to hear Coleridge preach, for "a poet and a philoſopher getting up into a Unitarian pulpit to preach the Goſpel, was a romance in thoſe degenerate days, a ſort of revival of the primitive ſpirit of Chriſtianity, which was not to be reſiſted."

It was ſome eight or nine years afterwards that De Quincey met Coleridge. "Coleridge told me that it had coſt him a painful effort,

" but not a moment's heſitation, to " abjure his Unitarianiſm, from the " circumſtance that he had amongſt " the Unitarians many friends, to " ſome of whom he was greatly in- " debted for great kindneſs. In " particular he mentioned Mr. Eſt- " lin of Briſtol, a diſtinguiſhed Diſ- " ſenting clergyman, as one whom " it grieved him to grieve. But he " would not diſſemble his altered " views."

There is alſo an unpubliſhed letter of February, 1798, from Theophilus Lindſey (who will be known to many of us from the intereſting account of him in Trevelyan's " Life " of Fox") to a friend at Shrewſbury, in which he ſays:—" You " cannot well conceive how much " you have raiſed my opinion of " Mr. Coleridge by your account " of him. Such ſhining lights, ſo " virtuous and diſintereſted, will

" contribute to redeem the age we " live in from being ſo deſtitute of " apoſtolic zeal."

The previous year, Mrs. Barbauld had addreſſed a poem to Coleridge, urging him to " fair exertion for " bright fame ſuſtained."

I have found it difficult to arrange theſe letters in their proper order, as many of them are without date, and though conjectural dates are often inſerted, there is always liability to miſtake. Cottle's " Early Recol- " lections " has ſerved as a guide in ſome inſtances, but the letters he gives are often alſo without date, and are ſometimes apparently miſplaced.

Of the three poems,—the fragment copied out by Miſs Wordſworth appears afterwards in a ſomewhat altered form, in Book I. of " The " Excurſion." The verſes, "To An " Unfortunate Princeſs " may be found in the " Monthly Magazine "

with the title "On a late Connubial "rupture in High Life," and they appear again in Pickering's edition of Coleridge, 1877:—they are not in the 1848 edition.

The lines to Horne Tooke I am unable to trace. They were written, it appears, for "Horne Tooke and the "company, who met on June 28th "to celebrate his poll," at the Weſtminſter election. This celebration was held at the "Crown and Anchor" in the Strand and was largely attended, and we further learn from Hamilton Reid's "Life of Tooke," that "excellent patriotic ſongs" were ſung, but no words are given.

On the circumſtances connected with Coleridge's viſit to Mrs. Evans (in the firſt letter) I can throw no light, except indeed that Southey, writing to Cottle in 1836, ſays that in 1794 "Coleridge made his en-"gagement to Miſs Fricker on our

" return from this journey at my " mother's houſe at Bath;—not a " little to my aſtoniſhment, for he " had talked of being deeply in love " with a certain *Mary Evans.*"

With regard to Coleridge's Shrewſbury epiſode, it would appear that he firſt went on trial at Mr. Rowe's requeſt (Coleridge mis-ſpells the name *Row* throughout), and afterwards accepted the invitation of the congregation. The Wedgewoods' preſent of 100*l.* he declined, but ſhortly afterwards came the ſecond offer of 150*l.* a year, and this he (not unnaturally) did *not* decline.

The laſt letters here printed are in curious contraſt to the earlier ones, but they are equally inconſiſtent with others of the ſame date which Cottle gives, and it is not quite eaſy to ſee what Coleridge's views exactly were. I learn, however, that the eſtrangement which took place between him

and Dr. Eſtlin was owing leſs to the divergence in their opinions than to the fact that Coleridge's growing habit of opium taking, joined to an abſolute reckleſſneſs in incurring debts and in failing to fulfil his engagements, had at this time entirely alienated Dr. Eſtlin's ſympathy and reſpect.

HENRY A. BRIGHT.

[? *Jan.*, 1796.]

MOSELY, BIRMINGHAM.

My dear and honoured friend

ON my return from Ottery, (where I was received by my mother with tranſport, and by my brother George with joy and tenderneſs, and by my other brothers with affectionate civility) I found at Mr. Wades' a letter for me from Mrs. Evans—a moſt impaſſioned letter, in which ſhe informed me that after ſhe had acquainted her Brothers, &c., that ſhe had determined to hazard all conſequences rather than loſe me, they then came forwards and divulged what before this they had kept ſecret from her,—that even her children's own fortunes were in great meaſure dependent on the will of the grandfather, and that every thing—the

worſt was to be expected from his implacable reſentment. She was therefore forced to give up the ſcheme, and requeſted me to fly back to her immediately. I accordingly ſtept almoſt immediately into the mail coach—this was Saturday night—and arrived at Darley by dinner-time on Sunday. I haſtened to relieve Mrs. Evans's embarraſſment. "I cannot be ſaid to have loſt that "which I never had, and I have "gained what I ſhould not other-"wiſe have poſſeſſed—your eſteem "and acquaintance." "Say rather" (ſhe exclaimed) "my veneration "and love." After this we ſpent a lovely week at Matlock, and then viſited Ilam, the moſt beautiful of valleys, and Dove-dale, the moſt tremendous of Sublimities. Mrs. Evans behaved with great liberality. A little before I was about to quit her, ſhe inſiſted on my acceptance of 95*l.*,

and ſhe had given Mrs. Coleridge all her baby clothes, which are, I ſuppoſe, very valuable. Well, on the Wedneſday I was to have left Darley, when in the morning Dr. Crompton came home. From the time that I firſt left Darley, after having ſettled with Mrs. Evans, he had been abſent at Liverpool. He came to make me the following offer, viz., that if I would take a houſe in Derby, and open a day-ſchool, confining my number to twelve, he would ſend his three children on the following terms:—Till I had completed my number he would allow me 100*l.* a-year for them; when I had procured my full number twelve, he ſhould give twenty guineas for each, excluſive of writing maſters, drawing, &c. The children to come at nine and leave me at twelve; to come again at two and leave me at five; from three to

five in each afternoon to be occupied with their writing maſters, &c. He had not a ſhadow of doubt on his mind that I ſhould complete my number almoſt inſtantly. If ſo, twelve times twenty guineas = 240 guineas, —and my mornings and evenings at my own diſpoſal,—is a good thing; ſo I accepted his propoſal, it being underſtood that if anything better ſhould offer, I am at liberty to accept it. The plan is to commence in November; the intermediate time I ſpend at Briſtol, where Mrs. Coleridge will of courſe lie in. On Thurſday I left Derby, and am now at Mr. Hawkes's, at Moſely near Birmingham, where I ſhall ſtay till Monday morning next, and ſhall be at Briſtol Monday night. I preached yeſterday morning from Hebrews, c. iv. v. 1 and 2, "Let us therefore fear ". . . heard it." 'Twas my *chef-d'œuvre*. I think of writing it down

and publiſhing it with two other ſermons, one on the character of Chriſt, and another on his univerſal reign, from Iſaiah xlv. 22 and 23. I ſhould like you to hear me preach them. I lament that my political notoriety prevents my relieving you occaſionally at Briſtol. Mrs. Evans requeſted me to make you and Mrs. Eſtlin know and love her; ſhe ſays that ſhe already knows and loves you both, for indeed, my dear, very dear friend! I do love to talk about you. Kiſs the dear little ones for me, and give my love to Mrs. Eſtlin—Mrs. Eſtlin who is *my ſiſter!* Indeed, I feel myſelf *rich, very rich,* in poſſeſſing your love and eſteem.

S. T. COLERIDGE.

Monday morning.

P.S.—If you can afford time, give me a line or two.

Rev. Mr. Eſtlin,
St. Michael's Hill,
Briſtol.

[Briſtol, 1796?]
Monday Morning, July 4th.

My dear and highly-honored Friend,

AM alarmed leſt I ſhould be obliged to leave Briſtol before you come back, which, I aſſure you, would be chill and comfortleſs to my feelings beyond expreſſion. On Friday laſt I received a meſſage from Perry, the editor of the Morning Chronicle, through Dr. Beddoes, ſtating that if I would come to town and write for him, he would make me a regular compenſation adequate to the maintenance of myſelf and Mrs. Coleridge. Grey, the co-editor with Perry, died at the Hotwells, on Wedneſday or Thurſday. Dr. Beddoes thought it a fine opening for

me, and added that Perry expected an immediate anſwer. My feet began mechanically to move towards your houſe. I was moſt uncomfortably ſituated. You and Mrs. Eſtlin out of Briſtol, and Charles Danvers out of Briſtol, and even Mr. Wade was abſent. So I had nobody to ſpeak to on the ſubject except Mr. Cottle, which I did, and he adviſed me to write to Perry immediately and accept his propoſal. I did ſo, and expect to-morrow a letter from him with particulars, which I will immediately acquaint you with. My heart is very heavy, for I love Briſtol and I do not love London. Beſides, local and temporary politics are my averſion,—they narrow the underſtanding, they narrow the heart, they fret the temper. But there are two Giants leagued together, whoſe moſt imperious commands I muſt obey, however re-

luctant—their names are BREAD and CHEESE.

I received from your ſiſter your kind note with Mr. Hobhouſe's and Dr. Diſney's kindneſs. You will believe, and will acquaint Dr. Diſney, that I feel as I ought to do. I have myſelf written a few lines to Mr. Hobhouſe.

You have had delightful weather, and you have that calm ſunſhine of the ſoul that gives you ſenſes to feel and enjoy it. I am with you in ſpirit; and almoſt feel "the ſea-"breeze lift my youthful locks." I would write Odes and Sonnets morning and evening, and metaphyſicize at noon, and of rainy days I would overwhelm you with an Avalanche of Puns and Conundrums looſened by ſudden thaw from the Alps of my Imagination.

My moſt reſpectful and tendereſt love to dear Mrs. Eſtlin, and aſk

her—" If a woman had murdered " her couſin, and there were no " other proof of her guilt except " that ſhe had a *half-barrel caſk* in her " poſſeſſion,—how would that con- " vict her?" Anſwer—It would be evident that ſhe had kild-er-kin. As I know that now ſhe cannot mortify me by pretending not to enjoy the joke, ſhe will laugh moſt intemperately. Do not aſk her the next till a quarter of an hour's intermiſſion: Why Satan ſitting on a houſe-top would be like a decayed merchant? Anſwer—Becauſe he would be imp-over-a-ſhed.

Mr. Wade was talking of Davies in Clare Street, and aſked me what I thought of a *religious attorney*. Why (quoth I) I ſhould not doubt of his attachment to the *law and the profits* (i. e. prophets), but ſhould think his *Goſpel* faith rather queſtionable.

My love to Mr. and Mrs. Hort, and aſk Hort (who *hates* a Conundrum,—Why a murderer is like an unborn Jack-aſs? Anſwer—He is an aſſ-aſſ-in, i.e. aſs in an aſs.

You rejoice that the prince and princeſs are reconciled, although I fear

"That never can true reconcilement grow
"When wounds of deadly wrong have pierced ſo deep."

I compoſed a few lines lately on the Princeſs, in which I ſimply expreſſed ſympathy for her without endeavouring to heap odium on her huſband. Indeed, as the lines are *addreſſed to her*, it would have been brutal to have abuſed her huſband to her face.

To an Unfortunate Princess.

I ſigh, fair injur'd Stranger! for thy fate,
But what ſhall Sighs avail thee? Thy poor Heart
Mid all the pomp and circumſtance of State
Shivers in nakedneſs! Unbidden ſtart

Sad Recollections of Hope's gariſh dream,
That ſhap'd a ſeraph form and named it Love;
It's hues gay-varying as the Orient Beam
Varies the neck of Cytherea's Dove.

To one ſoft accent of domeſtic Joy,
Poor are the Shouts that ſhake the high-arch'd Dome:
The Plaudits, that thy *public* path annoy,
Alas! they tell thee, Thou'rt a Wretch *at home!*

Then O! retire and weep! their very Woes
Solace the guiltleſs. Drop the pearly Flood
On thy ſweet Infant, as the FULL-BLOWN Roſe
Surcharg'd with dew bends o'er its neighb'ring BUD!

And ah! that Truth ſome holy ſpell could lend
To lure thy Wanderer from the Syren's power:
Then bid your Souls inſeparably blend,
Like two bright Dew-drops boſom'd in a flower!"

S. T. C.

The Reviews have been wonderful. The Monthly has *cataracted* panegyric on my poems, the Critical has *caſcaded* it, and the Analytical has *dribbled* it with very tolerable

civility. The Monthly has at leaſt done juſtice to my Religious Muſings; they place it "on the very top of the ſcale of ſublimity"!!!

I ſhall finiſh with ſome verſes which I addreſſed to Horne Tooke and the company who met on June 28th, to celebrate his poll. I begin by alluding to the comparatively ſmall number which he polled at his firſt conteſt for Weſtminſter. You muſt read the lines, two abreaſt.

Britons! when laſt ye met, with diſtant ſtreak
So faintly promiſed the pale Dawn to break;
So dim it ſtain'd the precincts of the Sky
E'en *Expectation* gaz'd with doubtful Eye.
But now ſuch fair Varieties of Light
O'er take the heavy ſailing Clouds of Night;
Th' Horizon kindles with ſo rich a red,
That, though the *Sun ſtill hides* his glorious head,
Th' impatient Matin-bird, *aſſur'd of Day*,
Leaves his low neſt to meet it's earlieſt ray;
Loud the ſweet ſong of Gratulation ſings,
And high in air claps his rejoicing wings!

Patriot and Sage! whoſe breeze-like Spirit firſt
The lazy miſts of Pedantry diſperſ'd,
(Miſts in which Superſtition's *pigmy* band
Seem'd Giant Forms, the Genii of the Land!)
Thy ſtruggles ſoon ſhall wak'ning Britain bleſs,
And Truth and Freedom hail thy wiſh'd ſucceſs.
Yes *Tooke!* tho' foul Corruption's wolfiſh throng
Outmalice Calumny's impoſthum'd Tongue,
Thy Country's nobleſt and *determin'd* Choice,
Soon ſhalt thou thrill the Senate with thy voice;
With gradual Dawn bid Error's phantoms flit,
Or wither with the lightning's flaſh of Wit;
Or with ſublimer mien and tones more deep,
Charm ſworded Juſtice from myſterious Sleep,
" By violated Freedom's loud Lament,
" Her Lamps extinguiſh'd and her Temple rent;
" By the forced tears, her captive Martyrs ſhed;
" By each pale Orphan's feeble cry for bread;
" By ravag'd Belgium's corſe-impeded Flood,
" And Vendee ſteaming ſtill with brothers' blood!"
And if amid the ſtrong impaſſion'd Tale,
Thy Tongue ſhould falter and thy Lips turn pale;

[επεα πτεροεντα]

If tranſient Darkneſs film thy aweful Eye,
And thy tir'd Boſom ſtruggle with a ſigh:
Science and Freedom ſhall demand to hear
Who practiſed on a Life ſo doubly dear;
Infuſed the unwholeſome anguiſh drop by drop,
Poiſ'ning the ſacred ſtream they could not ſtop!
Shall bid Thee with recover'd ſtrength relate
How dark and deadly is a Coward's Hate:
What ſeeds of death by wan Confinement ſown,
When priſon-echoes mock'd Diſeaſe's groan!
Shall bid th' indignant Father flaſh diſmay,
And drag the unnatural Villain into Day.
Who to the ſports of his fleſh'd * Ruffians left
Two lovely Mourners of their Sire bereft!
'Twas wrong, like this, which Rome's *firſt Conſul* bore,
So by th' inſulted Female's name *he* ſwore.
Ruin (and raiſed her reeking dagger high)
Not to the *Tyrants* but the Tyranny!!

* Dundas left thief-takers in Horne Tooke's Houſe for three days, with his two Daughters *alone:* for Horne Tooke keeps no ſervant.

God who hath bleſſed you, bleſs you! Mrs. Coleridge begs her kindeſt love to you all.

Once more may God bleſs you all —and your obliged and grateful and truly affectionate friend,

S. T. COLERIDGE.

Reverend J. P. Eſtlin,
Mrs. Smith's,
Bridge-end,
Glamorganſhire.

My dear Friend,

I AM not yet gone, but I go *with* Mrs. Coleridge to-morrow morning. I thought it adviſable to get ſome review-books off my hands firſt. I hope, that you and dear Mrs. Eſtlin arrived ſafe! God bleſs you both! My Heart muſt be cold in the grave, when it ceaſes to thrill and warm at the mention of your names. You met me

ſever'd from thoſe amities

Which grow upon the Heart, and roughly
puſh'd
Naked and lonely to Life's ſtormy verge—

and you clothed that heart with new affections, and drew me back to ſerenity.—Enough!

" The farewell tear, which even now I pay,
" Beſt thanks you, and whene'er of pleaſures
flown
" My Heart ſome ſweeter image would renew,
" Loved, honour'd FRIENDS! I will remem-
ber *you!*"

I have printed *that Ode*—I like it myſelf. A parcel of them will have arrived at Parſons's, in Paternoſter Row, at the ſame time you receive this letter. It occupies two ſheets Quarto, and is priced one Shilling. If you think, after peruſal, that the compoſition does credit to the author of the Religious Muſings (pardon my vanity) you will recommend it to your friends. I have taken my

motto you will ſee from Æſchylus—ἐφημίοις φροιμίοις are bloody Preſages, I believe; but I have ſent away my Scapula. You know I am a *motto-philiſt*, and almoſt a motto-*maniſt*—I love an apt motto to my heart. Παραχοπα (page 9) is a good word. It is commonly but looſely rendered *madneſs;* it means properly an *exciſion* of mind—ſo that we ſee but *one* ſide, and are blind to noonday evidence on the other.

Have you preached your anti-atheiſtical ſermon? Do you print it in London? Let me hear (directing to me, Stowey, near Bridgewater, Somerſet).

Preſent our reſpects to Mr. and Mrs. Biſhop. I hope to hear ſhortly that *he* is ſafely delivered, for I am ſure his *heart* is in a ſtate of parturience that demands ſympathy equally with the "*to come*" of your lovely ſiſter-in-law.

Preſent my reſpects to Dr. Diſney, and my affectionate regards to Mr. Frend, if you ſee him.

My David Hartley laughs, cries, and ſucks with all imaginable vivacity.

Heaven love you, and your grateful and affectionate

S. T. COLERIDGE.

December 30th, 1796.

P.S. I have adopted your objection to " urg'd his flight "—it certainly *meant* nothing.

Rev. J. P. Eſtlin,
at Mr. Biſhop's,
No. 21, Eſſex Street,
Strand,
London.

[STOWEY, 1797.]

My dear Friend,

I WAS indeed greatly rejoiced at the firſt ſight of a letter from you; but its contents were painful. Dear, dear Mrs. Eſtlin! Sara burſt into an agony of tears, that ſhe *had* been ſo ill. Indeed, indeed, we hover about her, and think, and talk of her, with many an interjection of prayer. I do not wonder that you have acquired a diſtaſte to London—your aſſociations muſt be painful indeed. But God be praiſed! you ſhall look back on thoſe ſufferings, as the vexations of a dream! Our friend, T. Poole, particularly requeſts me to mention how deeply he condoles with you in Mrs. Eſtlin's illneſs, how fervently he thanks God for her recovery. I aſſure you he was extremely affected. We are all re-

markably well, and the child grows fat and ſtrong. Our houſe is better than we expected—there is a comfortable bedroom and ſitting-room for C. Lloyd, and another for us, a room for Nanny, a kitchen, and outhouſe. Before our door a clear brook runs of very ſoft water; and in the back yard is a nice *well* of fine ſpring water. We have a very pretty garden, and large enough to find us vegetables and employment, and I am already an expert gardener, and both my hands can exhibit a callum, as teſtimonials of their Induſtry. We have likewiſe a ſweet Orchard, and at the end of it T. Poole has made a gate, which leads into his garden—and from thence either through the tan yard into his houſe, or elſe through his orchard over a fine meadow into the garden of a Mrs. Cruikſhanks, an old acquaintance, who married on the ſame day

as I, and has got a little girl a little younger than David Hartley. Mrs. Cruikſhanks is a ſweet little woman, of the ſame ſize as my Sara, and they are extremely cordial. T. Poole's Mother behaves to *us*, as a kind and tender Mother. She is very fond indeed of my wife, ſo that, you ſee, I ought to be happy, and, thank God, I am ſo. I may expect your ſermon, I ſuppoſe, in the courſe of a fortnight. Will you ſend me introductory letter to Mr. Howell of Bridgewater, and Toulmin of Taunton? I have fifty things to write, but the carrier is at the door. To poor John give our love, and our kind love to Miſs Eſtlin, and to all friends. To Mrs. Eſtlin my heart is ſo full, that I know not what to write. Believe me, with gratitude, with filial reſpect, and fraternal affection,

Your ſincere *friend*,

S. T. Coleridge.

May [? 1797].
Friday Morning.

My dear Friend,

WRITE from Croſs, to which place I accompanied Mr. Wordſworth, who will give you this letter. We viſited Cheddar, but his main buſineſs was to bring back poor Lloyd, whoſe infirmities have been made the inſtruments of another man's darker paſſions. But Lloyd (as we found by a letter that met us in the road) is off for Birmingham. Wordſworth proceeds, leſt poſſibly Lloyd may not be gone, and likewiſe to ſee his own Briſtol friends, as he is ſo near them. I have now known him a year and ſome months, and my admiration, I might ſay, my awe of his intellectual powers has

increaſed even to this hour, and (what is of more importance) he is a tried good man. On one ſubject we are habitually ſilent; we found our data diſſimilar, and never renewed the ſubject. It is his practice and almoſt his nature to convey all the truth he knows without any attack on what he ſuppoſes falſehood, if that falſehood be interwoven with virtues or happineſs. He loves and venerates Chriſt and Chriſtianity. I wiſh he did more, but it were wrong indeed, if an incoincidence with one of our wiſhes altered our reſpect and affection to a man, of whom we are, as it were, inſtructed by one great Maſter to ſay that not being againſt us he is for us. His genius is moſt *apparent* in poetry, and rarely, except to me in *tête-à-tête*, breaks forth in converſational eloquence. My beſt and moſt affectionate wiſhes attend Mrs. Eſtlin

and your little ones, and believe me with filial and fraternal Friendſhip,

Your grateful

S. T. COLERIDGE.

Rev. J. P. Eſtlin,
St. Michael's Hill,
Briſtol.

STOWEY, *Sunday.*
[1797, probably.]

My dear Friend,

WOULD accept your kind invitation immediately, but that I have a bad foot. A ſcald imperfectly healed, and I walked with it; after one day's walking I was obliged to return with a wound in my foot. But if poſſible, I will ride to Briſtol at the end of the week. Heaven forbid that there ſhould not be worſe vices of the mind than Prejudice—for *all* of us,

more or leſs, muſt neceſſarily be prejudiced. The worſt vice of the Intellect, I believe, is *malignant* Prejudice, and next to this, or perhaps co-equal with it, is *Indifference.* I have ſometimes feared, from the diſlike, the encreaſing diſlike, which I find in myſelf, to all *chirurgical operations*, that my mind is verging to this ſtate; it is certainly much nearer to it, than to any diſquietude and reſtleſſneſs of Temper concerning errors, which do not appear directly connected with vice and miſery. I judge ſo much by the *fruits*, that I feel a conſtant yearning towards the belief that ſuch tenets are *not* errors. Now all this applies to the preſent caſe. I cannot as yet reconcile my intellect to the ſacramental Rites; but as I do not ſee any ill effect which they produce among the Diſſenters, and as you declare from your own experience that they have *good*

effects, it is painful to me even ſimply *to ſtate my diſſent*, and more than this I have not done, and, unleſs Chriſtianity were attacked on this head by an Infidel of real learning and talents, more than this I do not conſider myſelf as bound to do. I never even ſtate my diſſent unleſs to miniſters who urge me to undertake the miniſtry. My conduct is this—I omit the rites, and wiſh to ſay nothing about it; everything that relates to Chriſtianity is of importance, but yet all things are not of equal importance: and when the Incendiaries have ſurrounded the building, it is idle to diſpute among ourſelves whether an old ſtaircaſe was placed in it by the original Architect, or added afterwards by a meaner hand. But notwithſtanding this, its little comparative importance,—I cannot, I muſt not play the hypocrite. If I performed or received the Lord's

Supper in my preſent ſtate of mind, I ſhould indeed be eating and drinking condemnation. But this I need not ſay to you. As to Norwich, it is an *ugly* place, and an extravagantly *dear* place, and it is very, very far diſtant from all I love, animate and inanimate, and parties run high, and I am wearied with politics, even to ſoreneſs. I never knew a paſſion for politics exiſt for a long time without ſwallowing up, or abſolutely excluding, a paſſion for Religion. Perhaps I am wrong; but ſo I think. However, I truſt to ſee you by the end of the week. To Mrs. Eſtlin remember me affectionately, and kiſs for me the dear little ones. May Heaven love you and him who ever feels for you the mingled affections of Son, Brother, and Friend!

S. T. COLERIDGE.

Rev. J. P. Eſtlin,
St. Michael's Hill,
Briſtol.

[From Racedown Lodge, near Crewkherne, *June*, 1797.]

[Portion cut off.]

WISHED to have written you when it was decided. Theſe cauſes diſſolved in that univerſal menſtruum of apologies, my indolence, made me delay my letter till, I fear, I write at a time when even a letter from a friend will intrude on your fears and anxieties. Believe me, I ſhare them; no hour paſſes, in which I do not think of, with an eagerneſs of mind, dear Mrs. Eſtlin. I feel, at times, ſad and depreſſed on her account—on mine own, I might have ſaid. For, God knows! theſe are not the times, when we can fear for a dear friend with a moderate fear!

I am at preſent ſojourning for a few days with Wordſworth, at Racedown Lodge, near Crewkherne, and finiſhing my tragedy. Wordſworth, who is a ſtrict and almoſt ſevere critic, thinks *very* highly of it, which gives me great hopes.

. . . . .

When there are two miniſters they ought to be either as Brothers —one ſoul in two heads—or as Father and Son.

I breakfaſted with Dr. Toulmin laſt Monday; the more I ſee of that man, the more I love him.

I preached for Mr. Howel the Sunday before. My ſermon was admired, but *admired* ſermons, I have reaſon to think, are not thoſe that do moſt good. I endeavoured to awaken a zeal for Chriſtianity by ſhowing the contemptibleneſs and evil of lukewarmneſs.

T. Poole gives me notice that you

have, at Midſummer, twenty guineas for me which thoſe have contributed who believe that they are enabling me to benefit my fellow-creatures in proportion to my powers.

Will you be ſo kind as to call on Mrs. Fricker, and give her five guineas in *my name;* and to tranſmit five guineas to Mrs. Coleridge. I hope and truſt that this will be the laſt year that I can conſcientiouſly accept of thoſe contributions, which in my preſent lot, and conſcious of my preſent occupations, I feel no pain in doing.

If this Mr. Reynell ſettles with me, it will at leaſt provide my immediate houſehold expenſes, and, if my Tragedy ſucceed, Io triumphe!

Give my heartfelt love to dear, dear Mrs. Eſtlin, and kiſs dear Anna, and Alfred and Caroline for me. My kindeſt remembrances to Mr. and Mrs. Hort, and believe me,

your obliged and truly affectionate friend,

S. T. COLERIDGE.

Rev. J. P. Eſtlin,
St. Michael's Hill,
Briſtol.

[Racedown Lodge, near Crewkherne. 1797.]

My dear Friend,

I WROTE to you yeſterday, and to-day I muſt write again. I ſhall have quite finiſhed my Tragedy in a day or two; and then I mean to walk to Bowles, the poet, to read it to him, and have his criticiſms,—and then accordingly, as he adviſes, I ſhall either tranſmit the play to Sheridan, or go to London and have a perſonal interview with him. At preſent I am almoſt ſhillingleſs; I ſhould be glad, therefore, if you

could tranſmit me immediately a *five pound note* of the Bank of England, directed

S. T. COLERIDGE,
Racedown Lodge,
near Crewkherne.

I calculate that by this time your anxieties are paſt; mine will continue till I hear from you. This is a lovely country, and Wordſworth is a great man; he admires your ſermon againſt Payne much more than your laſt; I ſuppoſe becauſe he is more inclined to Chriſtianity than to Theiſm, ſimply conſidered. The lines overleaf, which I have procured Miſs Wordſworth to tranſcribe, will, I think, pleaſe you. When I arrive at Bowles's, I will write again, giving you a minute account of the bard, God bleſs *you*, and *yours*, and all of us!

Moſt affectionately,
Your obliged friend,
S. T. COLERIDGE.

Saturday morning.

her eye
Was buſy in the diſtance, ſhaping things
That made her heart beat quick. Seeſt thou that path?
(The greenſward now has broken its grey line;)
There, to and fro ſhe paced, through many a day
Of the warm ſummer: from a belt of flax
That girt her waiſt, ſpinning the long-drawn thread
With backward ſteps. Yet, ever as there paſſed
A man, whoſe garments ſhowed the Soldier's red,
Or crippled mendicant in Sailor's garb,
The little child, who ſat to turn the wheel,
Ceaſed from his toil; and ſhe, with faltering voice,
Expecting ſtill to learn her huſband's fate,
Made many a fond inquiry; and when they,
Whoſe preſence gave no comfort, were gone by,
Her heart was ſtill more ſad.—And by yon gate
That bars the traveller's road, ſhe often ſat,
And if a ſtranger-horſeman came, the latch
Would lift, and in his face look wiſtfully,
Moſt happy, if from aught diſcovered there
Of tender feeling, ſhe might dare repeat
The ſame ſad queſtion.—Meanwhile her poor hut
Sank to decay: for he was gone, whoſe hand,
At the firſt nippings of October froſt,

Cloſed up each chink, and with freſh bands of ſtraw
Checquered the green-grown thatch; and ſo ſhe ſat
Through the long winter, reckleſs and alone,
Till this reft houſe by froſt, and thaw, and rain,
Was ſapped; and, when ſhe ſlept, the nightly damps
Did chill her breaſt, and in the ſtormy day
Her tattered clothes were ruffled by the wind,
Even by the ſide of her own fire, yet ſtill
She loved this wretched ſpot, nor would for worlds
Have parted hence: and ſtill, that length of road,
And this rude bench, one torturing hope endeared,
Faſt rooted at her heart; and, Stranger, here
In ſickneſs ſhe remained, and here ſhe died,
—Laſt human tenant of theſe ruined walls.

Rev. J. P. Eſtlin,
St. Michael's Hill,
Briſtol.

[SHREWSBURY.]
Sunday night.

My very dear Friend,

AFTER a fatiguing journey I arrived here on Saturday night. I left Worceſter ſix o'clock Saturday morning, and we did not reach Shrewſbury till Saturday night, eight o'clock. I preached, of courſe, morning and afternoon. Like Mr. Row much; he is a ſenſible, Chriſtian-hearted man, and I am very well. What more can I write? If you were to pay the poſt, it would go againſt my conſcience to leave ſo much ſpace unfilled and give you ſo little for your money; but as it will coſt you nothing, why ſhould I ſtand wringing my diſhclout of a brain in order to ſqueeze out a few dirty drops not worth the having?

Give my kind love to Mrs. Eſtlin,

and believe me with fraternal and filial eſteem and affection,

Yours,
S. T. COLERIDGE.

To Rev. J. P. Eſtlin,
St. Michael's Hill,
Briſtol.
By favour of Mr. Kell.

[Undated, Stowey, *December*, 1797.]
Saturday morning.

My dear Friend,

IN the morning of Chriſtmas Day I received Mr. Row's letter to you. On Thurſday night, eleven o'clock, I received from Mr. J. Wood of Shrewſbury an invitation in the name of Mr. Row's congregation, accompanied with a very kind note from Mr. Row. On this ſubject

I now entreat your friendly advice; and in order to enable you to give it, I muſt retrace my life for the laſt three months. At the commencement of this period I began to feel the neceſſity of gaining a regular income by a regular occupation. My heart yearned toward the miniſtry; but I conſidered my ſcruples, as almoſt inſurmountable obſtacles to my conſcientious performance of its duties. Another plan preſented itſelf: that of joining with Mr. Montague in a project of Tuition. Our ſcheme was ſingular and extenſive: extenſive, for we propoſed in three years to go ſyſtematically, yet with conſtant reference to the nature of *man*, through the mathematical branches, chemiſtry, anatomy, the laws of life, the laws of intellect, and laſtly, through univerſal hiſtory, arranging ſeparately all the facts that elucidate the ſeparate ſtates of ſociety—ſavage,

civilized, and luxurious: ſingular, for we propoſed ourſelves not as Teachers, but only as Managing Students. If by this plan I could at once ſubſiſt my family for three years, and enable myſelf to acquire ſuch a maſs of knowledge, it would doubtleſs be preferable to all other modes of action for me, who have juſt knowledge enough of moſt things to feel my ignorance of all things. The probability, however, of its ſucceſs was very ſmall. Before I left Stowey it dwindled yet more, and when at Briſtol, in all the deſpondency of the new taxes, the plan appeared abſolutely romantic. In the meantime my converſations with you had certainly weakened my convictions on certain ſubjects, or at leaſt deadened their efficacy. I made up my mind to be a Diſſenting Miniſter, and offered to ſupply Mr. Row's place for a few Sundays at

Shrewſbury, to ſee whether I liked the place and whether the congregation liked me, and would endure my opinions, which, ſoftened and modified as they had been, did ſtill retain a degree of *peculiarity*. I returned to Stowey, and wrote to Montague, that if indeed he ſhould procure, and *immediately* procure, the eight pupils at 100*l.* a year, they boarding and lodging at their own expenſe (for this was his plan), I would join him gladly. But as I did not perceive the *ſlighteſt chance* of this, unleſs it were done *immediately*, I ſhould accept ſome ſituation as Diſſenting Miniſter, and that I had no time for delay or wavering.

Well! on Chriſtmas Day morning I received two letters—one from you, *i.e.* Mr. Row's letter to you—one in an unknown hand, but which I ſuppoſed to be upon ſome newſpaper

buſineſs, and did not open it till ſome time after I had read and pondered the former. In this I ſaw the features of *contingency* very ſtrongly marked, and (as I always do on ſuch occaſions) to prevent diſappointment I checked my hopes. Mr. *Kentiſh* was to be applied to. I had heard that he was not very comfortably ſituated at Exeter; and as to Norwich, the ſame motives which inclined me not only to prefer Shrewſbury, but Shrewſbury out of the queſtion, to reject Norwich, I naturally ſuppoſed would have its influence on him—the ſalary being ſo much more, the country more delightful, and proviſions of all kinds ſo much cheaper. Suppoſing that he declined it, ſtill it was uncertain whether the congregation would elect *me;* and that part of Mr. Row's letter ("without ſome independence "Mr. C. is almoſt the only man I

" would wiſh to ſettle here," &c.) increaſed my doubts. I did not refuſe to think, that by gentleneſs and intellectual efforts, I ſhould compel their reſpect when they became acquainted with me; but I thought it probable, that ſuch a congregation, in a town ſo violently ariſtocratic, would be deterred from electing me by the notoriety of my *political* conduct, and by the remaining peculiarities of my religious creed. My mind was loſt and ſwallowed up in muſing on all this, when I careleſſly opened the ſecond letter. It proved to be from Mr. Joſiah Wedgewood. The following is a copy:—" Dear " Sir,—My brother Thomas and " myſelf had ſeparately determined " that it would be right to enable " you to defer entering into an en- " gagement, we underſtand you are " about to form, from the moſt ur- " gent of motives. We therefore

" requeſt you will accept the en-
" cloſed Draft with the ſame ſim-
" plicity with which it is offered to
" you.

" Dear Sir, ſincerely yours,

" JOSIAH WEDGEWOOD.

" P.S.—The draft is payable to the
" bearer of it. I ſhall be obliged to
" you to acknowledge the receipt of
" it to me at Penzance." The in-cloſed draft was for a hundred pound. Well! what was I to do? This hundred pound joined with the guinea per week which I gain from the Morning Poſt, and which only takes me up two days in the week, would give me the leiſure and tranquillity of independence for the two next years, at the end of which time, by ſyſtematic ſtudy, I ſhould be better fitted for any profeſſion than I am at preſent. Without this, unleſs I am elected at Shrewſbury, which I thought more than uncer-

tain, I ſhall remain neceſſitous and dependent, and be compelled to fag on in all the nakedneſs of Talent, without the materials of knowledge or ſyſtematic information. But if I accept it, I certainly bind myſelf to hold myſelf free for ſome time at leaſt for the co-execution of the plan of general ſtudy with Montague; and in the realization of which I underſtand that the Wedgewoods are actively intereſting themſelves, as conceiving it likely to be of general benefit. And this letter was to be anſwered *immediately*. My friend T. Poole ſtrenuouſly adviſed me to accept it, conſidering how contingent the Shrewſbury plan appeared. I however lingered, I may truly ſay, almoſt a ſleepleſs man, Monday night, and Tueſday night, and Wedneſday night, regularly ſitting up till the poſt came in, which is not till half-paſt eleven, anxiouſly hoping

to receive ſome letter more deciſive reſpecting Shrewſbury. On the Thurſday *morning* I was obliged to acknowledge the receipt of the Draft, having already delayed it beyond all limits of propriety. Well, after a ſtorm of fluctuations, Poole ſtill retaining his opinions, and urging them more deciſively, I accepted the Draft in a letter expreſſive of manly gratitude, and on the Thurſday night I received the letter from Mr. Wood! The diſtreſs of my mind ſince then has been inexpreſſible. The plan which with the eagerneſs of Friendſhip you had been exerting yourſelf to ſecure for me—how can I bear to think that it ſhould periſh in your hand, the very moment you had caught it? Yet, on the other hand, if I ſend back the Draft, I ſhall loſe the eſteem of the Wedgewoods and their friends, to whom I ſhall appear deficient not

only in conſiſtency, but even in common probity. It will appear to them that I accepted the Draft in words which implied that it had relieved me from a ſtate of great uncertainty,—whereas, in truth, I had accepted it to conſole myſelf for a diſappointment. Write immediately.

S. T. COLERIDGE.

Rev. J. P. Eſtlin,
St. Michael's Hill,
Briſtol.

[Undated, STOWEY, *January*, 1798.]

My Dear Friend,

AFTER much and very painful heſitation I have at length returned the draft to Mr. Wedgewood with a long letter explanatory of my conduct. The firſt ſunny morning that I walk out at Shrewſbury, will make

my heart die away within me—for I ſhall be in a *land of ſtrangers*. For I ſhall have left a friend whoſe ſympathies were perfect with my manners, feelings and opinions—and what is yet more painful, I ſhall have left him unconvinced of the *expediency* of my going, public or perſonal. I could not *ſtay* with an eaſy conſcience, but whether I ſhall be happy ſo far removed from any who love me, I know not. This I know —I will make myſelf contented by ſtruggling to do my duty.

I have written to Mr. Wood and to Mr. Row—promiſing to be at Shrewſbury by the latter end of next week. To-morrow I perform Mr. Howel's duty—the good old man has gone to London with his daughter to ſeek ſurgical aſſiſtance for her.

I am now utterly without money, and my account ſtands thus.—I owe

Biggs 5*l.*, Parſons, the bookſeller, owes me more than this conſiderably; but he is a rogue, and will not pay me. I have not paid Mrs. Fricker her quarterly allowance—in ſhort—

	£	s.	d.
Biggs . . .	5	0	0
Mrs. Fricker .	5	5	0
A quarter's rent due Dec. 25th	2	2	0
1797			
Maid's wages .	1	1	0
Shoemaker .	1	13	0
Coals . . .	2	6	0
Chandler . .	0	12	0
Sundries . .	0	12	0
	£18	11	0

This is all I owe in the world: now in order to pay it I muſt borrow 10*l.* of you, 5*l.* of Mr. Wade, and will ſell my Ballad to Phillips who I doubt not will give me 5*l.* for it—

I ſuppoſe, that my Friends will not withdraw their annual ſubſcription of 5*l. this year*; afterwards of courſe, I ſhould not want it—ſo that, you ſee, I propoſe to anticipate yours, Mr. Hobhouſe's, and Mr. Wade's ſubſcriptions. God love you! I will be with you as ſoon as riches, inſtead of making *themſelves* wings, ſhall make a pair for *my* ſhoulders—at preſent, I am abſolutely unfledged.—Yours, with filial and fraternal affection,

S. T. COLERIDGE.

Saturday Morning.—My affectionate remembrances to Mrs. Eſtlin.

Rev. J. P. Eſtlin,
St. Michael's Hill,
Briſtol.

[STOWEY, 1798?]
Tueſday Night.

My Dear Friend,

IF you have never been a ſlave to the ſuperſtition of impulſes, you will marvel to hear that I arrived at Stowey on Friday laſt, by dinner time. I left Mr. Wedgewood's on Thurſday evening, juſt time enough to keep an engagement I had made to ſup with a Mr. Williams of Nottingham, at the White Lion. There I ſlept—awoke at five in the morning, and was *haunted* by a ſtrange notion that there was ſomething of great importance that demanded my immediate preſence at Stowey. I dreſſed myſelf, and walked out to diſſipate the folly—but the Bridgewater Coach rattling by, and the coachman aſking me if

I would get in—I took it for an omen—the ſuperſtitious feeling recurred—and in I went—came home, and found—my wife and child in very good health! However, as I muſt neceſſarily be in Briſtol in a few weeks, I the leſs regret my ſtrange and abrupt departure. T. Poole informs me that there is a letter for me at your houſe—if ſo, be ſo kind as to ſend it to Mr. Cottle's for me. T. Wedgewood did not ſpeak a word to me about *the circumſtance*, only that I ſhould *hear* from him. So I know nothing relating to myſelf ſo far, which you do not know.

Have you given over the thoughts of editing Butler's Analogy with notes? If the Unitarian Society would publiſh it in their tracts, I would willingly and *immediately* undertake it *with you*—adding a diſquiſition on Hume's ſyſtem of

cauſation—or rather of non-cauſation. This is the pillar, and confeſſedly the *ſole* pillar, of modern Atheiſm;—if we could clearly and manifeſtly detect the ſophiſms of *this* ſyſtem, I think that Butler's Analogy *aided* by well-placed notes, would anſwer irreſiſtibly all the objections to Chriſtianity founded on *a priori* reaſonings, and theſe are the only reaſonings that infidels uſe even with plauſibility. I have ſent you Payne's letter to Erſkine,—it was ſent to me privately by the Editor of the Morning Poſt, for they do not venture to *publiſh* it. There are ſome ludicrous blunders—exemp. gratiâ—this erudite Philoſopher miſtakes Moſes's autograph for the publication of the law, and aſſerts that the law was not known till Hilkiah (Chronicles ch. xxxiv.) *pretended* to have found it. Mr. Ireland *pretended* to have found a *copy* of Lear in

Shakeſpere's own hand, *ergo*, we have proof that the tragedy was *not* compoſed by Shakeſpere, and never heard of till the thirty-ſeventh year of the reign of George the third! Erudite logician! There is annexed a ſermon in defence of Deity with one or two good remarks in it, but the *proof* is very idle, and the definition of Deity—i.e., a being whoſe power is equal to his will—in all probability applies equally to a maggot. There is, however, an argument againſt the *Bible* quite *new* —"I (the ſaid Thomas Payne) "could write a better book myſelf" —and therefore it cannot be the word of God. Now, unleſs we ſuppoſe Mr. Payne miſtaken (which is hard to ſuppoſe on a ſubject where he muſt be ſo impartial a judge, i.e., his own genius) this argument is quite unanſwerable!

I mentioned the Unitarian So-

ciety, becauſe I propoſe to myſelf no pecuniary profit, but could not ſuſtain, on the other hand, any pecuniary loſs.

My kind love to Mrs. Eſtlin, and believe me with gratitude, eſteem, and fervent affection, ever, ever yours,

S. T. COLERIDGE.

[Undated, Shrewſbury.]

My very dear Friend,

I ANSWER your letter to Mr. Row, becauſe it is probable that I muſt ſay all that he would ſay, and that I ſhall have to ſay what he could not ſay for me. We have talked over the affair ſeriouſly, and at the concluſion of our converſations our opinions have nearly coincided.

Firſt of all I muſt give you the *information* which I have received on this affair, and then I will proceed to make ſome direct obſervations on your very kind letter. In a letter full of elevated ſentiments Mr. Joſiah Wedgewood offers me from himſelf and his brother Thomas Wedgewood, "an annuity of 150*l.* for life, legally "ſecured to me, *no condition whatever* "*being annexed.*" You ſeemed by the phraſe of "a family in this "neighbourhood," to ſuppoſe that the offer proceeded from or included the Wedgewoods at Cote Houſe; this is not the caſe. Joſiah Wedgewood lives in Staffordſhire. Now nothing can be clearer than that I cannot accept the miniſterial ſalary at Shrewſbury and this at the ſame time. For as I am morally certain that the Wedgewoods would not have thought it their duty, or rather would have found it to be *not* their

duty, to have offered me 150*l.* yearly, if I had been previouſly poſſeſſed of an 150*l.* regular income, it follows indiſputably that I cannot accept the firſt 150*l.* with the determination to accept the latter 150*l.* immediately after. But (independently of the *animus donantis* which is concluſive in this caſe) were I to accept the ſalary at Shrewſbury, I *would not* accept the annuity from the Wedgewoods. Many deſerve it equally, and few would want it leſs. It is almoſt equally clear to me, that as two diſtinct and incompatible objects are propoſed to me I ought to chooſe between them, with reference to the advantages of each, and not make the one a dernier reſource if the other ſhould fail. No, anteriorly to the deciſion of the congregation here, I will ſend the Wedgewoods a definitive anſwer, either accepting or declining the offer. If I accept

it, I will accept it *for itſelf*, and not to conſole me for a diſappointment in the other object, which I ſhould have preferred if I could have enſured it. Now then I can ſtate clearly the Queſtion on which I am to decide. "Shall I refuſe 150*l.* a "year for life, as certain as any for- "tune can be, for (I will call it) "another 150*l.* a year, the attain- "ment of which is not yet certain, "and the duration of which is pre- "carious?" You anſwer, "Yes! the "cauſe of Chriſtianity and practical "Religion demands your exertions. "The powers of intellect, which God "has given you, are given for this "very purpoſe, that they may be em- "ployed in promoting the beſt inte- "reſts of mankind." Now the anſwer would be deciſive to my underſtanding, and (I think you know enough of me to believe me when I ſay that were the annuity

1,500*l.* a year inſtead of 150*l.*) it ſhould be deciſive on my conduct, if I could ſee any reaſon why my exertions for Chriſtianity and practical Religion depend, I will not ſay on my being at Shrewſbury, but on my becoming a ſtipendiary and regular miniſter. It makes me bluſh, I aſſure you, ſitting *alone* as I now am, at the idea of mentioning two ſuch names as I am about to do, with any ſuppoſeable reference to my own talents, preſent or to come, but *the kind* is *not altered* by *the degree*. Did Dr. HARTLEY employ himſelf for the promotion of the beſt intereſts of mankind? Moſt certainly. If inſtead of being a phyſician he had been an hired Teacher, that he would not have taught Chriſtianity *better*, I can certainly ſay, and I ſuſpect, from the vulgar prejudices of mankind, that his name might have been leſs efficacious. That, however, is

a Trifle. A man who thinks that Lardner defended Chriſtianity becauſe he received 50*l.* or 60*l.* a year for preaching at Crouched Friars, muſt be ſuch a booby that it cannot be of much conſequence what he thinks. But, Lardner! do you really think, my dear Friend, that it would have been of much detriment to the Chriſtian world if the author of the Credibility, &c., had never received or accepted the invitation at Crouched Friars? Surely not. I ſhould be very unwilling to think that my efforts as a Chriſtian miniſter depended on my preaching regularly in one pulpit. God forbid! To the cauſe of Religion I ſolemnly devote all my beſt faculties; and if I wiſh to acquire knowledge as a philoſopher and fame as a poet, I pray for grace that I may continue to feel what I now feel, that my greateſt reaſon for wiſhing the one and the

other is, that I may be enabled by my knowledge to defend Religion ably, and by my reputation to draw attention to the defence of it. I regard every experiment that Prieſtley made in Chemiſtry as giving *wings* to his more ſublime theological works. I moſt aſſuredly ſhall preach often, and it is my preſent purpoſe alternately to aſſiſt Dr. Toulmin and Mr. Howel one part of every Sunday while I ſtay at Stowey. "I know" (you ſay) "that it was from the "pureſt motives that he thought of "entering into the miniſtry." My motives were as pure as they could be, or ought to be. Surely an *eſpecial* attachment to a ſociety, which I had never ſeen, was not one of them; neither if I were to permit myſelf to be elected the Miniſter here, ſhould I conſider the ſalary as the payment of my ſervices, my ſtated and particular ſervices to the people

here, but as a means of enabling myſelf to employ all my time both for their benefit and that of *all* my fellow beings. Two modes of gaining my livelihood were in my power. The preſs without reference to Religion, and Religion without reference to the Preſs. (By the *Preſs as a Trade* I wiſh you to underſtand, reviewing, newſpaper writing, and all thoſe things in which I propoſed no fame to myſelf or permanent good to ſociety, but only to gain that bread which might empower me to do both the one and the other on my vacant days.) I choſe the latter. I preferred, as more *innocent* in the firſt place, and more *uſeful* in the ſecond place, the *miniſtry* as a Trade to the preſs as a Trade. A circumſtance ariſes, and the neceſſity ceaſes for my taking up either—that is, as a means of providing myſelf with the neceſſaries of Life. Why ſhould I not

adopt it? But you continue—"And "I cannot but rejoice that he has it "in his power to demonſtrate this" (*i.e.*, the purity of my motives) "to "the ſatisfaction of others." It is *poſſible*, then, that ſome may ſay, "While he wanted money, he was "willing to preach the Goſpel in "order to get it; when that want "ceaſed, his zeal departed." Let them ſay it. I ſhall anſwer moſt truly—While I could not devote my time to the ſervice of Religion without receiving money from a particular congregation, I ſubdued the ſtruggles of reluctance, and would have ſubmitted to receive it. Now I am enabled as I have received freely, freely to give. If in the courſe of a few years I ſhall have appeared neglectful of the cauſe of Religion, if by my writings and preachings I ſhall not have been endeavouring to propagate it, then, and not till then,

the charge will affect me. I have written you as the thoughts came uppermoſt. I might ſay a great deal more. I might talk of Shrewſbury in particular, and ſtate particular reaſons of attachment to Stowey, but I chooſe to confine myſelf to generals. Anterior to my converſation, Mr. Row thought on the whole that I ought to accept the annuity. He deſires me to ſay, that he will leave this place on the Wedneſday of next week for Briſtol. I will ſerve for him as long as he chooſes.

Yours moſt affectionately,
S. T. COLERIDGE.

P.S.—To this add that the annuity is independent of my health, &c. &c., the ſalary dependent not on health, but on twenty caprices of twenty people.

Rev. J. P. Eſtlin,
St. Michael's Hill,
Briſtol.

Monday, May 14th, 1798 [Stowey].

My dear Friend,

OUGHT to have written to you before; and have done very wrong in not writing. But I have had many ſorrows, and ſome that bite deep; calumny and ingratitude from men who have been foſtered in the boſom of my confidence! I pray God, that I may ſanctify theſe events by forgiveneſs and a peaceful ſpirit full of love. This morning, half-paſt one, my wife was ſafely delivered of a fine boy; ſhe had a remarkably good time, better if poſſible than her laſt, and both ſhe and the child are as well as can be. By the by, it is only three in the morning now. I walked in to Taunton and back again, and performed the divine ſervices for Dr. Toulmin. I ſuppoſe

you muſt have heard that his daughter, in a melancholy derangement, ſuffered herſelf to be ſwallowed up by the tide on the ſea-coaſt between Sidmouth and Bere. Theſe events cut cruelly into the hearts of old men; but the good Dr. Toulmin bears it like the true practical Chriſtian,—there is indeed a tear in his eye, but *that* eye is lifted up to the Heavenly Father. I have been too neglectful of practical religion—I mean, actual and ſtated prayer, and a regular peruſal of ſcripture as a morning and evening duty. May God grant me grace to amend this error, for it is a grievous one! Conſcious of frailty I almoſt wiſh (I ſay it confidentially to you) that I had become a ſtated miniſter, for indeed I find true joy after a ſincere prayer; but for want of habit my mind wanders, and I cannot *pray* as often as I ought. Thankſgiving is pleaſant in

the performance; but prayer and diſtinct confeſſion I find moſt ſerviceable to my ſpiritual health when I can do it. But though all my doubts are done away, though Chriſtianity is my *paſſion*, it is too much my *intellectual* paſſion; and therefore will do me but little good in the hour of temptation and calamity.

My love to Mrs. E. and the dear little ones, and ever, O ever, believe me, with true affection and gratitude

Your filial Friend,
S. T. COLERIDGE.

Rev. J. P. Eſtlin,
St. Michael's Hill,
Briſtol.

[LONDON, 1800.]
Saturday, March 1ſt.

My very dear Friend,

WHEN I received your letter, ſome three minutes ago, I turned to my Guide des Voyageurs en Europe to know where Marburg was. I gueſs it to be Marburg in the Biſhoprick of Padderbourn, between Frankfort and Caſſel. If ſo, I have not been within forty miles at leaſt of it, having never been many miles below Caſſel,—at all events the name of the perſon you mention is wholly unknown to me. I once knew a Miſs Bouclere in Devonſhire. As to myſelf, I am *fagging*, and am delivering to the preſs ſome plays of Schiller's. I ſhall ſoon however ſlide away from this place, and devote myſelf to works of more importance.

I have ſeen Mr. and Mrs. Barbauld two or three times—once at their own houſe—admirable people! Dr. Diſney's ſons, at all events the younger, with his ſhirt collar halfway up his cheek, gave me no high idea of the propriety of Unitarian Diſſenters ſending their ſons to Eſtabliſhed and Idolatrous Univerſities. It may be very true, that at Hackney they learnt, too many of them, Infidelity. The Tutor, the *whole* plan of education, the place itſelf, were all wrong—but many will return to the good cauſe, in which alone plain practical Reaſon can find footing—but at Cambridge and Oxford they will not learn Infidelity perhaps, or perhaps they may,—for now 'tis common enough even there, to my certain knowledge—but one thing they *will* learn—indifference to all Religions but the Religion of the *Gentleman*. *Gentlemanlineſs* will be the word, and

bring with it a deep *contempt* for thoſe Diſſenters among whom they were born. We Diſſenters (for I am proud of the diſtinction) have ſomewhat of a ſimple and *ſcholarly* formality perhaps: God forbid we ſhould wholly loſe it! but with the young men at Oxford and Cambridge "*the* "*gentleman*" is the all-implying word of honour,—a thing more blaſting to real virtue, real liberty, real ſtanding forth for the truth in Chriſt, than all the Whoredoms and Impurities which this Gentlemanlineſs does moſt generally bring with it. My dear friend! in the crowded, heartleſs party at Dr. Diſney's, O! how I did think of *your* Sunday ſuppers, their light uncumbrous ſimplicity, the heartineſs of manner, the literary Chriſtianneſs of converſation. Dr. Diſney himſelf I *reſpect*, highly reſpect: in the pulpit he is an *apoſtle*, but *there—there it ſtops*.

My beſt and overflowing love to Mrs. Eſtlin, kiſſes and love to your children. Sara is better. Hartley rampant.

Heaven bleſs you, and your affectionate friend,

S. T. COLERIDGE.

Mrs. Coleridge begs to be remembered to you and dear Mrs. Eſtlin "with *all, all, all* my heart." There you have her own words.

P.S. Nothing is more common than for conſcious infidels to go into the *Church*. Conſcious Arians or Socinians ſwarm in it. So much for the *morals* of Oxford and Cambridge. With their too early reaſonings, and logic-cuttings, and reading Hume and ſuch like traſh, the young Diſſenters are prone to Infidelity, but do you know any inſtance of ſuch an Infidel accepting an office that implied the belief of Chriſtianity? It cannot be ſaid, that this is owing to *our* pre-

ferments being ſo much ſmaller: for the majority are but Curates in the Eſtabliſhed Church, or on ſmall Livings, and not ſo well off as George Burnet was, or Sam. Reed would have been, but this is it, my dear friend! The Education, which Diſſenters receive among Diſſenters, generates conſcientiouſneſs and a ſcrupulous turn: will this be gained at the wine parties at Cambridge? The truth is, Dr. Diſney himſelf ſees only with too much pleaſure the Gentlemanlineſs. I ſay thus much, my dear friend! becauſe I once heard you ſpeak in commendation of that which I am now deprecating.

P.S. The more I ſee of Mrs. Barbauld the more I admire her—that wonderful *propriety* of mind! She has great *acuteneſs*, very great—yet how ſteadily ſhe keeps it within the bounds of practical Reaſon. This *I* almoſt envy as well as admire—my

own ſubtleties too often lead me into ſtrange (though God be praiſed) tranſient out-of-the-wayneſſes. Oft like a winged* ſpider, I am entangled in a new-ſpun web, but never fear for me, 'tis but the flutter of my wings—and off I am again!

The little man ſo full of great affections, you cannot love him better than I.

* By the bye, there is no ſuch creature. But in ſimiles, if a phœnix, why not a winged ſpider?

Rev. J. P. Eſtlin,
St. Michael's Hill,
Briſtol.

GRETA HALL, KESWICK.
July 26, 1802.

My dear Friend,

AY after day, and week after week, have I been intending to write to you. To enumerate all the cauſes of the delay (ſuperadded alas! to my inveterate habits of procraſtination) would make my preſent letter a very different one from what I wiſh it to be, a doleful inſtead of a cheerful one. I am at preſent in better health than I have been, though by no means ſtrong or well —*and at home all is Peace and Love.* I am about ſhortly to addreſs a few letters to the Britiſh Critic on the uſe of the definitive article, and the inferences drawn from it by Grenville Sharp, and ſince attempted to be proved in a very learned and

induſtrious work by the Rev. C. Wordſworth, a fellow of Trinity, our Wordſworth's brother. Sharp's principle is as follows:—When και connects two nouns (*not of the plural number, and not proper names*) if the article ὁ, or any of its caſes, precedes the firſt of the ſaid Nouns or Participles, and is not repeated before the ſecond Noun or Participle, the latter always relates to the ſame perſon, that is expreſſed or deſcribed by, the firſt Noun or Participle, *ex. gr.* Ο Θεος και Πατηρ του Κυριου ημων, &c., 2 Cor. i. 3.—Τυχικος ο αγαπητος Αδελφος και Διακονος, &c., Eph. vi. 21, from which rule he deduces abſolute aſſertions of the Godhead of Chriſt from Acts xx. 28, Eph. v. 5, 2 Theſſal. i. 12, 1 Timoth. v. 21, 2 Timoth. iv. 1, Titus ii. 13, 2 Peter i. 1, Jude 4. Kit Wordſworth's book is occupied in proofs that *all* the *Greek* Fathers, and many

—and thoſe the moſt learned—of the Latin Fathers, did ſo underſtand theſe texts, when from the nature of the Arian controverſy, it would have anſwered their purpoſes much better to have underſtood the words according to our preſent verſions. The firſt thing that ſtared me in the face, and which I afterwards found true, is that all the inſtances but two are, to all intents and purpoſes, *proper names*, and conſequently fall within Grenville Sharp's own exception. The two inſtances which I have not found uſed as proper names are Titus ii. 13, and 2 Peter i. 1. Now if you know any proof of Σωτηρ being uſed without an article in any place where it ſtands by itſelf, in the ſame manner as Chriſt is, and God, and as Κυριος I can prove to be in a hundred inſtances in Greek, you would ſerve me, and what is a much greater inducement

to you, throw light on a very important ſubject; or if you know any inſtance in which Sharp's rule is falſified. In Engliſh now, *exem. cauſâ*, we might ſay, As I walked out to-day, whom ſhould I meet but the carpenter and ſhoemaker of our village? It would certainly be more *accurate* to ſay the carpenter and *the* ſhoemaker; but the accuracy of ſpecial pleading is to be found in few books, nor is it neceſſary. You would know that I had met *two* perſons, becauſe you know that the trades of carpenter and ſhoemaker are not one in this country, whereas if I had ſaid, the carpenter and joiner, though the form of grammar would have been the ſame, you would have known inſtantly that I had met but *one* man. If you recollect in Ariſtophanes, &c., or the Septuagint, any inſtances to this purpoſe, you would oblige me by tranſ-

mitting them to me. Unfortunately, I have none of the Greek Fathers, neither have I the Septuagint; but I have found much that I want in Suicerus's Theſaurus Patrum, which I was lucky enough to buy for its weight at a druggiſt's. In theſe letters I purpoſe to review Horſley's and Prieſtley's controverſy, and in theſe you will ſee my *Confeſſio Fidei*, which as far as regards the doctrine of the Trinity is *negative* Unitarianiſm, a *non liquet* concerning the nature and being of Chriſt, but a condemnation of the Trinitarians as being wiſe beyond what is written. On the ſubjects of the original corruption of our Nature, the doctrines of Redemption, Regeneration, Grace, and Juſtification by Faith, my convictions are altogether different from thoſe of Drs. Prieſtley, Lindſey, and Diſney; neither do I conceive Chriſtianity to be tenable

on the Prieſtleyan hypotheſis. I read Lardner often; not ſo much for the information I gain from him —which is, however, very great— but for the admirable modeſty and truly Chriſtian ſpirit which breathes through his works, and which I wiſh to imbibe as a man, and to imitate as a writer, well aware of the natural Impetuoſity and *Warburtonianiſm* of my own uncorrected diſpoſition. My dear Friend, believe no idle reports concerning me; if I differ from you, and *wherein* I differ from you, it will be that I believe *on the whole more* than you, not leſs, of which I give, I truſt, the beſt proof in my power, by breeding up my child in *habits* of awe for Deity, and undoubted Faith in the truth in Chriſt. I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the pleaſure and inſtruction which I have received from your ſermon on

the Sabbath, which I have read *repeatedly*, and ſhall take occaſion to ſpeak of, as in my humble opinion incomparably the beſt work that has been written on the ſubject, as far as I have ſeen, and a ſufficient anſwer to (what I had before believed unanſwerable) Paley's objections. It grieved me that you ſhould have the word *genius* ſo emphatically (p. 26) to Evanſon, for ſurely you wrote it unthinkingly. Is not Evanſon egregiouſly a *weak* and *vain* man? God forgive me if I *ſpeak* uncharitably, I am ſure I do not feel ſo; but his book on the diſſonance of the Evangeliſts ſtruck me as the ſillieſt and moſt vapid book I ever peruſed. Σφοδρα τοι σμικρος ων τον νουν, ως αν εκ των αυτου λογων τεκμηραμενον ειπειν, φαινεται—the Papias among the Unitarians (Lardn. vol. ii. p. 108). I wiſh you would give us in ſome form or other, in maga-

zine or ſeparate publication, a real hiſtory, in the ſpirit of Lardner, of all that can be collected of the opinions of the Jews and Jewiſh doctors, concerning the Meſſiah, antecedent to the time of Chriſt and ſince that time. I have been rather diſſatisfied with Lardner's anſwer to the fourth and laſt objection to the philoſophical explanation of the Dæmoniacs. Do be ſo good as to look to the paſſage, vol. i. p. 483. Dr Lardner intimates that it was not Chriſt's buſineſs to inſtruct men in phyſics—that it was foreign to his miſſion,—that he was engaged in teaching the principles of *true* religion, and that any debate on this error might have diverted him from his main work. The Jews were not in danger of idolatry,—there was therefore no urgent neceſſity,—and he adds two inſtances in which our Lord ſtudiouſly declined to concern himſelf with

things foreign to the office of a prophet. Now the firſt of theſe inſtances ſeems to me to weigh againſt Lardner. Chriſt might have confuted a dangerous error without involving any queſtion of natural or metaphyſical philoſophy; he did not decide for or againſt the doctrine of pre-exiſtence; but he moſt effectually quaſhed the pernicious *moral* error of attributing all affliction to direct judgments of God upon the individual ſo afflicted. If the Evangeliſts had in any one paſſage merely called the Dæmoniacs diſeaſed men, or inſane men, "whoſe diſeaſes are "believed by the people to proceed "from Dæmons," or diſeaſes the true cauſes of which are not revealed to us, but which are believed to proceed from Dæmons, there would have been, I conceive, no phyſical hypotheſis implied, and yet the Goſpel ſaved from [the] apparent ignominy

of having confirmed . . . . its author . . . . ſo wild and inhuman. In Dr. Lardner's ſecond inſtance, I . . . . agree with him that "it "could not but . . . . work to de- "cide" that cauſe, as the brother required. On this . . . . appears to me that if Chriſt had done ſo, he would have . . . . inſtitutions of individual property, and the alliance of ſpiritual . . . . authority with concerns of a purely ſecular nature. But to . . . . orderly.—1. It was not his buſineſs to inſtruct men in natural . . . . *Anſwer*. True! But it was a grievous *moral* error as well as phyſical abſurdity, and might have been removed without any deciſion in phyſics, at leaſt ſo far as that his religion could not have been chargeable with aiding and *confirming* it. 2. It was foreign to his miſſion, which was to inſtruct men in the principles of true Re-

ligion. *Anſwer.* True principles cannot be taught but by the ſubverſion of falſe ones. This is eminently the practice in the Goſpel of Chriſt; more than half of Chriſt's Diſcourſe on the Mount is conſumed in exploding errors; elſewhere He is open and urgent in the ſame—ever ſo with St. Paul. Do, my dear friend! read what Lardner ſays, p. 462, 463, and 464, and then decide in your own mind on the baſeneſs and pernicious effects of ſuch a ſuperſtition. You know human nature too well not to know that a mind in terror of Spirits, and attributing diſeaſes to their malice, though it may not be ſtrictly *idolatrous*—but that it is impoſſible that it can be a *worſhipper* of the true God in the proper, Chriſtian, and ſpiritual meaning of worſhipping, in Spirit and in Truth. But not only did it imply frightful corruption in the great article of

all Religion, the moral attributes of God; but it muſt needs have had a bad effect, and an anti-ſocial influence on the intercourſe between man and man. It is not fair, my dear Sir! to ſtate it as a mere popular *opinion*; it was a reigning and inveterate ſuperſtition, accompanied by the moſt wicked practices; all the impoſtures and deluſions of Exorciſm, *vide* p. 486, 487. Yet ſo far are theſe Exorciſts from being condemned by Chriſt, that their Innocence is cited by him to prove his own. Matt. xii. 27, 28. Dr. Lardner's Expoſition of theſe two verſes, p. 489, appears to me exceedingly arbitrary, and utterly deſtitute of probability or plauſibility. Indeed, I confeſs it ſhocked me, in ſo dear and every way excellent a man. If you ſee this matter in a different light, and approve of Lardner's Expoſition, I will ſtate my objections to it at

length; at preſent I have no room on my paper. 3. It was not immediately connected with his miſſion, and there was no urgent neceſſity. *Anſwer*. It *was* (ως μοι δοκει) immediately connected with His miſſion. For how could thoſe be deemed ſane or proper judges of true miracles, who gave evidence in favour of falſe ones? St. Paul (as Dr. Lardner himſelf ſhows, p. 453) directly aſſerts the exiſtence of wicked Spirits ſwarming in the air, and in a ſtate of enmity to man. Eph. vi. 11, 12. Without preſſing at all too hardly on the nature of evidence, I think we may be permitted to ſay that men who believed that ſix thouſand Spirits dwelt in the body of one man, and after they were forced to leave it went into two thouſand pigs, three Devils to one pig, muſt have been credulous or unreaſoning men, and might, as

far as this remained without a counterbalance, have been fairly challenged as unfit to be upon a jury in a queſtion of miracles. But God be praiſed! we can ſhow that an ample counterbalance did exiſt; yet ſtill Chriſtianity is chargeable with having confirmed and *taught* a pernicious error. The infidelical argument from Chriſtian wars, cruſades, &c., is childiſh. Chriſtianity was the pretext, not the cauſe; but of the horrible burnings and drownings of thouſands of men and women as Witches, and all the irreverent and inhuman feelings towards aged and hypochondriacal people, Chriſtianity might ſeem to have been directly and properly the cauſe; for when the Phyſicians and natural Philoſophers earneſtly laboured to inculcate humane and true views on this ſubject, they were ſilenced by the authority of the Goſpel, and

their efforts for a long time fruſtrated, as you may eaſily convince yourſelf by reading the controverſies concerning Witches. I have ſtated the argument, as I wiſh to ſtate every argument, with as much force as if I were a complete convert to it. I hope to hear from you on this ſubject, and then I will give you all I can ſay in ſolution of the difficulty, which I confeſs appears to me a very ſerious one.

I meant to have ſaid much to Mrs. Eſtlin, and I am at the end of the paper. May God preſerve her, and you, and your little ones.

Your affectionate and grateful friend,

S. T. COLERIDGE.

Rev. Mr. Eſtlin,
Briſtol.

Dec. 7, 1802.—CRESCELLY, NEAR NARBARTH, PEMBROKESHIRE.

My dear Friend,

I TOOK the liberty of deſiring Mrs. Coleridge to direct a letter for me to you, fully expecting to have ſeen you; but I paſſed rapidly through Briſtol, and left it with Mr. Wedgewood immediately—I literally had *no time* to ſee any one. I hope, however, to ſee you on my return, for I wiſh very much to have ſome hours' converſation with you on a ſubject, that will not ceaſe to intereſt either of us while we *live* at leaſt, and I truſt that is a ſynonime of "for ever!"

As Mr. T. Wedgewood, however, is rapid in his movements, and ſudden in his reſolves, it is poſſible that

we may ſtrike up directly through Wales into the North, without taking Briſtol in our way; I muſt therefore requeſt that you will be ſo good as to re-direct any letter or letters, which there may be for me, to T. B. Allen's, Eſq., Creſcelly, near Narbarth, Pembrokeſhire, by the return of poſt.

Have you ſeen my different eſſays in the Morning Poſt?—the compariſon of Imperial Rome and France, the "Once a Jacobin, "always a Jacobin," and the two letters to Mr. Fox? Are my politics yours?

Have you heard lately from America? A gentleman informed me, that the progreſs of religious Deiſm in the middle Provinces is exceedingly rapid, that there are numerous congregations of Deiſts, &c., &c. Would to Heaven this were the caſe in France! Surely,

religious Deiſm is infinitely nearer the religion of our Saviour than the *groſs* idolatry of Popery, or the more decorous, but not leſs genuine, idolatry, of a vaſt majority of Proteſtants. If there be meaning in words, it appears to me that the Quakers and Unitarians are the only Chriſtians, altogether pure from Idolatry, and even of theſe I am ſometimes jealous, that ſome of the Unitarians make too much an *Idol* of their *one* God. Even the worſhip of one God becomes *Idolatry*, in my convictions, when inſtead of the Eternal and Omnipreſent, in whom we live and move and *have* our Being, we ſet up a diſtinct Jehovah, tricked out in the *anthropomorphic* attributes of Time and *ſucceſſive* Thoughts, and think of him as a *Perſon, from* whom we *had* our Being. The tendency to *Idolatry* ſeems to me to lie at the root of all our

ſcious of what paſſes within me, you would deduce one proof of this from the diſtinct images of my early Friends, that now ſo often riſe up before "that inward eye which is "the Bliſs of Solitude," and the lively affections of attachment and gratitude which accompany them. What I feel towards you, my dear ſir, and that I have never forgotten or undervalued your warm and zealous friendſhip when I was nakedly my own undiſciplined Self, friendleſs, homeleſs, fortuneleſs, I give you now a ſlight proof of; yet the beſt in my power, by unboſoming myſelf to you. For years I had with the bittereſt pangs of ſelf-diſapprobation ſtruggled in ſecret againſt the habit of taking narcotics. My conſcience indeed fully acquitted me of taking them from the weakneſs of Self-indulgence, or for the ſake of any pleaſurable ſenſation, or exhilaration of ſpirits—

in truth the effects were the very contrary. From the diſuſe my ſpirits and pleaſurable feelings uſed gradually to increaſe to the very hour, when my circulation became ſuddenly diſturbed, a painful and intolerable yawning commenced; ſoon followed by a violent bowel complaint .... [torn out] .... gave proof that the liver had ceaſed to perform its proper functions,—in ſhort I had the ſtrongeſt convictions that if I perſiſted, I ſhould die. Still however, I had no other ground for this conviction than my own feelings, and therefore was never ſure, that I was not acting guiltily. At length I made a fair trial under the eye of a Phyſician, determining, whatever might be the reſult, henceforward never to conceal anything of any kind from thoſe who loved me, and lived with me. The reſult was, that it could not be abandoned without

loſs of life,—at leaſt, not at once, but ſuch has been the bleſſed effect upon my ſpirits of having no ſecret to brood over, that I have been enabled to reduce the doſe to one *ſixth* part of what I formerly took, and my appetite, general health, and mental activity, are greater than I have known them for years paſt. O! had you conjectured the inward anguiſh that was conſuming me (for it is a goodneſs of Providence to me that I cannot do wrong without ſevere ſelf-puniſhment), both in your heart and in that of dear Mrs. Eſtlin's, pity would have ſuſpended all condemnation for my real or apparent neglects of the duties which I owe to my friends, my family, and my own Soul. I look onward to my future exertions with humble confidence. By the work, of which you have here the Proſpectus, I have received ſtrong encouragements to the belief, that I

ſhall do good. As I am almoſt ſure, that in the ſubjects admiſſible in ſuch a work, our Principles are the ſame, I have no immediate motive to detail to you the Tenets in which we differ. Indeed the difference is not as great as you have been led to ſuppoſe, and are [*ſic*] rather philoſophical than theological. I believe the Father of all to be the only Object of Adoration or Prayer; the Calviniſtic Tenet of a *vicarious* Satisfaction I reject not without ſome Horror, and though I believe that the Redemption by Chriſt implies more, than what the Unitarians underſtand by the phraſe, yet I uſe it rather as an X Y Z, an unknown Quantity, than as words to which I pretend to annex clear notions. I believe, that in the ſalvation of man a ſpiritual proceſs *ſui generis* is required, a ſpiritual aid and agency, the nature of which I am wholly ignorant of, as a *cauſe*, and

only imperfectly apprehend it from its neceſſity and its effects.

As to "THE FRIEND," I make no requeſt to you. You will do me all the good you can, compatible with the approbation of your own mind. I have received promiſes of ſupport from men of very high name in the literary world—and as to my own efforts, I conſider the work as the main pipe of my intellectual Reſervoir. The firſt Eſſay will be on the nature and importance of *principles*. The blindneſs to this I have long regarded as the diſeaſe of this diſcuſſing, calculating, *prudential* age (and to prove this, and to ſhow its conſequences in morality, taſte, and even in the common goings-on of daily life, is my paramount object for the whole work).

Remember me to Mrs. Eſtlin, as one who in his inmoſt Being has never ceaſed to be her and your ob-

liged and affectionate friend, with moſt unfeigned reſpect,

S. T. COLERIDGE.

Rev. J. P. Eſtlin,
St. Michael's Hill,
Briſtol.

[BRISTOL.]
Tueſday, 5 April, 1814.

My dear Sir,

βραδὺς καὶ ὀκνηρός τις ὢν φύσει πρὸς το γράφειν, I have had, alas! other both external and internal obſtacles, and thoſe of a ſort the moſt heart-appalling, to the realization of a reſolve I had made—to wit, that of writing to you at large on the deeply intereſting ſubject of your Work on Univerſal Reſtitution. I ſpeak within bounds, when I ſay that I have care-

fully read through the *whole* five times, independent of partial and deſultory references: and my own private judgement is fixed. It is this: that in the Court, which you have ſelected, and to the Judges or opponents, to whom and for whom you have argued, you have gained the Cauſe *completely*. I ſcarcely know how to *fancy* a mind ſo obſtinately illogical as, aſſenting to your premiſes (the *remedial* ends of all juſt puniſhment; the inconſiſtency of the adjunct with its principal in the term "*vindictive* juſtice;" and its further incompatibility with the infinite LOVE, which God *is*; &c.) could refuſe his aſſent to your concluſions. The writer of the illiberal article in the Eclectic Review among many other uncharitable overſights, forgot the firſt duty of a candid Critic—that of aſking, to whom and for whom was the work written?

His proper language as an orthodox, or (if I might coin a more modeſt expreſſion, a pleiſtodox = ὡς τοις πλειστοις δοκεῖ) man ſhould have been ſomething like the following:—"The "opponents, to whom alone this work "is controverſial, aſſume the ſame "premiſes as the author: and we "cannot conceive how *they* can "object to his deductions. If the "Scriptures preſent difficulties to the "advocate of limited and remedial "Puniſhment, they preſent them ten-"fold to the annihilators—from "whoſe ſyſtem nature itſelf recoils. "As Deiſts, the latter claſs might "have ſomething plauſible to ſay for "themſelves; but as Chriſtians, and "as deeming themſelves, of courſe, "obliged to acknowledge the reſur-"rection of all men, the worſt as "well as the beſt, their ſyſtem be-"comes monſtrous, and repreſents the "Supreme Being in a light ſcarcely

"leſs blaſphemous to his Wiſdom "than to his Goodneſs. For our- "ſelves, we hold it ſufficient to ſay: "*Non nobis!* To thoſe of our faith, "who deny the premiſes *in toto*, the "book was not written, and unleſs "Dr. Eſtlin ſhould addreſs a proof "of the Premiſes (which in his pre- "ſent work would have been ſuper- "fluous) to all Chriſtians in general, "we ſhall content ourſelves with the "open declaration of this our diſſent. "Conſidered as a literary work, the "arrangement is orderly and natural, "the language ſimple and correct, "and the whole compoſition breathes "a ſincere, open, and moſt affectionate "ſpirit."

This, my dear ſir, is my own opinion of your Diſcourſes. If you felt inclined to aſk, what then my faith is as to this awful ſubject, I ſhould refer to your own Book, to the quotation from Jeremy—that is my

creed. I believe, that puniſhment is eſſentially *vindictive, i.e.* expreſſive of abhorrence of Sin for its own exceeding ſinfulneſs: from all experience, as well as *a priori* from the conſtitution of the human Soul, I gather that without a miraculous intervention of Omnipotence the Puniſhment muſt continue as long as the ſoul, which I believe imperiſhable. God has promiſed no ſuch miracle, he has covenanted no ſuch mercy, I have no right therefore to believe or rely on it. It *may* be ſo, but wo to me! if I preſume on it. There is a great difference, my dear Sir! between the aſſertion "It IS ſo!" and "I have no right to aſſert the "contrary!"

I take the liberty of encloſing for your kind acceptance a ticket of admiſſion to my Lectures (which commence this evening) for yourſelf, family, and friends. Should you, or

Mrs. E., or any of your family, have leiſure or inclination, believe me, the more you bring, the more ſervice you will do me. I am aſking a *favour* by the ſame act by which I would give a humble proof, that notwithſtanding difference of creeds, I can never ceaſe to *remember* that I am your *greatly obliged*, nor, I truſt, to *feel* myſelf your *grateful* friend,

S. T. COLERIDGE.

Dr. Eſtlin,
St. Michael's Hill.

Saturday Night, April 9, 1814.
[Briſtol.]

Dear Sir,

AND is it poſſible that you can reject, and drive from your preſence "a friend, "once dear to your Heart," unqueſtioned? unheard? I have this

very moment returned home: and on eagerly opening your note was, as it were, thunderſtruck: and I have no reaſon to believe that I ſhould have gueſſed the cauſe, had it not been for an accidental ſpeech of Mr. Le Breton's to me, after my Lecture. "At a certain phraſe of "yours, (ſaid he) I looked round to "ſee whether Dr. E. was there." I inſtantly replied to him—would to Heaven, he had been! the very ſight of Him would have made it impoſſible that ſo fooliſh an expreſſion ſhould have entered into my mind, much leſs have been uttered by me. And (I continued) yet I ſolemnly declare, that to the beſt of my Belief I ſhould have been juſt as likely to have uſed it, being in a ſimilar tone of mind, at the time that I was myſelf a moſt ſincere and fervent Unitarian.

Firſt, dear Sir! let me entreat

you to conſider that my Lectures, with exception only of the general Plan of leading Thoughts, are literally and ſtrictly extempore, the words of the moment! Next, let me hope that the expreſſion uſed by me has not been repreſented with all the palliating circumſtances. Whoever was your Informer, can likewiſe tell you that the immediately preceding part of the Lecture had been of a (*for me*) unuſually cheerful and even mirth-exciting nature—and in ſpeaking of a ſublime Invention of Milton, unſupported by the natural and obvious ſenſe of the Text (for had it been a mere quotation, like that of "Let there be Light! etc.," where had been *his* Sublimity?) I ſaid in previous explanation theſe very words: "*for Milton has been* "*pleaſed to repreſent Satan as a ſcep-*"*tical Socinian.*"

Now had I ſaid, that Milton had

repreſented Satan as convinced of the prophetic and Meſſianic character of Chriſt, but ſceptical concerning any higher claims, I ſhould have ſtated the mere matter of fact—and can I think it poſſible that you ſhould for ever withhold your affection and eſteem from me merely becauſe moſt incautiouſly and with improper Levity, I confeſs and with unfeigned ſorrow, I conveyed the very ſame thoughts or fact in a fooliſh Phraſe? Permit me, Sir, to aſk you one Queſtion. Have you ever had reaſon to ſuppoſe or ſuſpect, that in my expreſſions of gratitude and affectionate eſteem toward you, I have been ever influenced by a ſingle ſelfiſh expectation, or the moſt diſtant intereſted motive? Has that been *my* character? or if it had been, can it be ſuppoſed that deliberately and with malice *prepenſe* I could have openly inſulted a body of Chriſtians, not only com

prizing a large number of the wealthieſt and moſt reſpectable Citizens of Briſtol, but among theſe full half of all, whom I knew moſt intimately, moſt reſpect, and who have been moſt kind and attentive to me, as MM. Caſtle and family, and Brothers, Mr. Danvers, etc.

Dear Sir! Let not tomorrow's Prayer offered to our common Father for forgiveneſs paſs without an inward forgiveneſs of me for an offence, which, I call Heaven witneſs, was never intended—which was the reſult of a momentary Levity, for which I ſhould be moſt eager to make any apology, public or private, as far as is conſiſtent with the truth —namely, that it was a mere Levity, and not meant to convey any ſerious ſarcaſm on the opinions you profeſs. I do again aſſert, that as far as I know my own heart and nature, it is my full conviction, that in the ſame

careleſs mood of mind I ſhould have been juſt as likely to have uſed the ſame words to the ſame purpoſe at the time that I was myſelf a zealous Socinian, and let Danvers or any one who knew me then intimately in my unguarded Talk, decide whether I have ſaid aught improbable in this aſſertion. I hope, I need not ſay, that it is the deſire of being preſent to you in your kind wiſhes, and not any great pleaſure I find in *viſiting*, except as far as I at once enjoy and gratify friendly feelings, has occaſioned you the trouble of reading this long Letter from him, who (however unkindly you may think of him) will ever be and avow himſelf with high eſteem your obliged and grateful,

S. T. C.

Dr. Eſtlin,
St. Michael's.

LETTERS WRITTEN BY MR. SYDNEY SMITH.

PREFACE.

THE originals of theſe few letters written by Mr. Sydney Smith are in the archives of Holland Houſe, and by the kindneſs of Lady Holland I am permitted to print them in the Philobiblon Miſcellany.

They are in no reſpect inferior to thoſe already publiſhed and edited by Mrs. Auſtin, and will I think be a welcome contribution to our forthcoming volume.

E. C.

I.

To the Hon. Miss Fox.[1]

Friday, 27th July.

I THANK you very kindly, dear Miſs Fox, for your good wiſhes for me and mine. Mrs. S. is recovering very rapidly, *though* ſhe nurſes her child, and I truſt we ſhall be able to leave this country by the 2nd of Auguſt. If we do, we ſhall be in London by the middle of the month.

Poor Mrs. Cecil, her career is ſoon finiſhed. She may ſtill do her huſband's fortune great injury, and I hope my father will conſent to bring on a divorce. Mrs. Ramus, the prototype of Mrs. Cecil, ſpent for her huſband £16,000 in two or three years.

[1] Sifter of Henry Richard, Lord Holland.

Bentham's "Letters" I have not ſeen, but I will read them. Bentham muſt have two minds—his book upon uſury, independent of its acuteneſs and good ſenſe, is one of the neateſt books I have ever read; and yet he is in his other works, as I am told, ſo defective, as to render the operation of *Dumontiſm* abſolutely neceſſary.

Mr. Atherly and his wife are here at their brother Lord Ancram's. Mr. Stewart and his wife make a long tour in England this ſummer—*to ſee Lord Aſhburton come of age.* I hope his firſt act when he arrives there will be to ſettle a penſion upon the Profeſſor. I am ſure no lion was ever ſo much indebted to Mr. Pidcock at Exeter Change as is Lord Aſh, to his keepers. He has attained to an eaſy and familiar uſe of his knife and fork, waſhes himſelf occaſionally, holds up his deciduous garment with one hand, and exhibits other proof

of progreſs in the decencies and deſtinies of life. He is, after all, I believe, a very good-hearted lad. I cannot think ſo highly of his underſtanding as many people do, who ſuppoſe that everybody muſt be extraordinary in mind who has unnatural legs, and arms, and features. Health and happineſs await you through the ſummer; gales from the weſt, ſunbeams through the trees, and at evening quietneſs and peace of heart; the waves at your feet, and the broad moon over your head.

With the moſt ſincere and reſpect,

Yours,

SYDNEY SMITH.

Our kindeſt regards to Miſs Vernon, and my bleſſing to the children.[1]

Hon. Miſs Fox.

[1] The children of his brother, Mr. Robert Smith.

II.

To the Hon. Miss Fox.

IT is not the contiguity of friends that has induced us to prefer Cavendiſh Square to L. Holland Houſe, but in the firſt place a little private hiſtory not worth ſtating, and in the ſecond place the ſuperior convenience of this part of the town to a perſon who is in daily ſearch of horſes and ſervants. We ſhall however very likely go a pleaſuring to H. Houſe, and with much gratitude accept your kind offer of furniſhing us with any little conveniences that we may have occaſion for while we are ſubſiding into order and regularity. I am ſincerely ſorry your accounts are ſo uncertain from Lord Holland and

that there is any occaſion for alarm about the child. I can underſtand very well now the nature and the variety of ſuch alarms, and if I was to hear that a Chineſe Mandarin four miles from the Tartar Wall had a ſick child, I ſhould feel *ſomething* for him.

I need not ſay how happy I was to hear the little Bobuſes were quite well, as you ſtate them to be in your letter to Mrs. Vaux. I rather wiſh Lord Holland had gone to Gibraltar; I think it would have been his beſt plan.

Mrs. S. is ſtronger and better after her fatiguing journey than ſhe was at the beginning, though ſhe nurſed her child the whole way; her conſtitution is, I truſt, completely reeſtabliſhed. The children are two of the ſmalleſt animals I ever ſaw. The waiters on the road all called little Saba the boy. What can you poſſibly mean by ſaying the country

is beſt for children? John Ironer ſerves by himſelf in a ſeparate corps conſiſting only of himſelf. Whether he is to have the command or not is not yet known. If I can be of any uſe in London, of courſe you will inform us. In the meantime, my dear Miſs Fox, believe me, with all affectionate reſpect, ſincerely yours,

SYDNEY SMITH.

Beſt regards to Miſs V.

8, Cavendiſh Square, Wedneſday.

III.

TO THE HON. MISS FOX.

Tueſday.

MY buſineſs with the Biſhop of London ended, as I had ſuppoſed it would, in nothing. Proteſtant nepotiſm is ſeldom carried ſo far as the

ſame vice in Catholic countries. Our friend the Greek has entirely broken with his patron the Biſhop —or rather the patron has broken with the Greek; he is no longer the Biſhop's chaplain, and his hopes of future preferment are at an end. In recompenſe he has got rid of the trouble of the young pupils and the impertinence of their mother. I have received from him a long hiſtory of the proceeding, tending to prove he! is not in fault— nothing could be more ſuperfluous —as it is a maxim with me that a biſhop muſt always be in the wrong. Pray read Thomas Burne's poems, 2 vols. Edinburgh; he is the ſame Burn who wrote an anſwer to Dr. Darwin's Zoononia, though I do not mean to offer this fact as preſumptive evidence of poetical ability. I have ſent to Meſſrs. Longman and Rees to receive their money for

my brother, but they have not yet ſent *for* it. We will call on Mr. and Mrs. M'Naughton next Sunday, a day I always appropriate for viſits contiguous to my chapel.

Bobus[1] has written to Scarlett and Sharp by the laſt ſhips. He writes in very good ſpirits, and as one thoroughly ſatisfied with what he has done. I have not the review by me, and I cannot remember what expreſſion at the beginning can juſtify your remarks on Mr. Jeffery. I am almoſt certain at the time he wrote that review, he had never heard of Dumont—or had heard of him without impreſſion—and however *Dumont's abilities* may be privately admired, he and every other author are at their firſt works to be ſpoken of as new men. I would differ with you about the petulance of the review

[1] A ſchool nickname given to Mr. Robert Smith, Mr. Sydney Smith's eldeſt brother.

if by differing I could perſuade you to adopt a contrary opinion, but as you have a very awkward knack of judging for yourſelf, I make a merit of neceſſity and acknowledge you are right. It is generally believed that our excellent monarch is inſane, and rumoured that he ſet off at full gallop immediately on his arrival at Windſor, purſued by Dr. Simmonds, five other phyſicians, and the apothecary in waiting, Gold Stick, all the canons, ſeveral dogs, Dr. Langford, and a great number of his liege ſubjects too obſcure for the records of hiſtory. Our beſt regards to Miſs Vernon.[1] I remain, dear Miſs Fox, very affectionately and reſpectfully

Yours,

SYDNEY SMITH.

[1] Siſter to Mr. Robert Smith.

IV.

To the Hon. Miss Fox, 1807.

Doughty Street,
Brunſwick Square.

I GOT your letters very ſafe, and conveyed them to the ſedulous Jaſper, recently a watchful merchant, now a plumed warrior, leaving the winds to blow where they liſt, and oblivious of the ſinging tempeſts hateful to Lloyds.

I did not review the American tranſactions. My articles are *Tableau des Etats Danois*, *Edgeworth on Bulls*, and *Wittman's Travels*. Davis is perhaps an obſcene book; but ſuch a book as Walker's "Defence of Order," which perhaps you allude to, I aſſure you *was* by no means obſcene in proportion to its demerits. It had gone through three editions,

and Miſs Edgeworth pronounced it to be the fineſt modern poem ſince the days of Pope. Dugald Stewart has been here ſome days. Profeſſor M'Intoſh lectures to him at dinner to-morrow, Sharp nods approbation. I attend. All the Autumnal Lions of the Town are gathered together. It is ſuppoſed there will be much converſation about Boileau, and Mind and Matter. My little boy had above forty convulſion fits a fortnight paſt. I thought every moment he would have died. They uſhered in the hooping-cough, of which he appears now to be nearly recovered. Saba is at Mrs. Rous's; I meant to have ſent her to L. Holland Houſe, but Mrs. Rous would not hear of it. I am quite delighted with Little Holland, and approve of it in all things. Talking of Holland Houſe, I have to thank you, which I do very kindly, for the admiſſion to Lady Holland's box.

I have ſome few rich friends, but none who have acquired that courageous uſe of wealth to rent a box at the playhouſe. If I can breathe into them ſuch heroic fortitude, I ſhall be proud to do ſo. The liſt you have received is the laſt; another is daily expected. I rather think you are miſinformed about the ſpeedy departure of the ſhips; to the public at preſent it muſt be conjecture. It ſhall be ſo no longer to you, the moment I can make it otherwiſe. I write to Mrs. Robert by the ſame ſhips as you do. Our kind love to Miſs Vernon—all happineſs attend you.

SYDNEY SMITH.

Pray let me know nearly about the time that you intend to be in Town. My little boy has ſo occupied my mind and time that I have neglected your houſe; I ſaw, however,

two in Davis Street, but the ſtreet is very objectionable.

Hon. Miſs Fox.

V.

To the Hon. Miss Fox, 1842.

AM very glad, my dear Miſs Fox, that you like my letter.[1] You ſee by the papers that the Great Weſtern have given in, which on Friday laſt they poſitively refuſed to do. I had another letter in ſtore for them next week, in which I ſhould have deſcribed them gazing with ſatisfaction on the burnt train of carriages and paſſengers.

1ſt carriage. A ſtewed Duke.

2nd. Two Biſhops done in their own gravy.

3rd. Three Ladies of quality browned.

[1] Burning alive on Railways.

4th. Lawyers returning from ſeſſions ſtewed in their own briefs à la Maintenon.

5th. Firſt and ſecond claſs. A grammar ſchool returning home, legs out of window like a pigeon pie.

6th. A fat woman much overdone.

7th. Two Scotchmen dead but raw, ſulphuric acid perceptible.

God bleſs you, dear Fockey.[1]

S. S.

VI.

To Miss Vernon (no date).

My dear Miſs Vernon,

MRS. ROBERT SMITH ſeems very well, very cheerful and contented, and turns out to be immoderately fond of lobſters.

[1] A nickname given to Miſs Fox by the children, and ſometimes applied to her by her elder relations.

Leveſon and Vernon[1] are very well, and have no proneneſs to cough upon light occaſions. Bobus (conſidering that ſuch are not his moſt ſtriking attributes) is gracious and loquacious. The young gentleman from Somerſetſhire who is ſtaying here is running about eagerly to all the adjacent towns with the impetuoſity natural to youth. The maturity of Leveſon and the caution of Vernon are impotent to reſtrain him. Pray put Lady Holland in mind to aſk Shuttleworth for his nomination to Wincheſter for Windham. I wrote to her about it, but the letter may be wandering about the Seven United Provinces. A ſmile from Miſs Fox added to the commands of Lady Holland will render Mr. Shuttleworth's obedience more agreeable to himſelf; a machine

[1] Sons of Mr. Robert Smith; Vernon, the ſecond ſon, afterwards the firſt Lord Lyveden.

that is to be put into motion may as well be oiled.

Miſs Fox I underſtand is appointed *Paymaſter;* if all your appointments, my dear Miſs Vernon, are equally judicious, the ſucceſs of your journey is certain. My father has a Somerſetſhire valet called Jones, ambitious of being a courier.

I have been taking leſſons in writing,—you have the firſt fruits. They will call me ere long Sydney the *Calligraphiſt.*

The weather has been wretched here, which Bobus and my father attribute to Yorkſhire, and not to that derangement of our climate and planet which is no longer doubtful. Michel Angelo the great and the little are here the only perſons of any note, and very angry that Bobus ſhould be called by the Poſtwoman the *Member.* We are about to condenſe all theſe good people into our

Parſonage next week—a proceſs requiring ſome ingenuity on our part and ſome indulgence on theirs. It would give us great pleaſure if the inhabitants of Little Holland Houſe were of the number; in that caſe the packing would be perfect, and the Parſonage houſe might travel behind Lady Holland's carriage without the danger of internal friction or derangement of parts.

God bleſs you both. I ſhall conſider the comparative value of the two countries to be deranged when you croſs the water.

SYDNEY SMITH.

VII.

To Lady Holland.

Combe Florey, Taunton,
September 15, 1844.

My dear Lady Holland,

IT is a ſad ſcene, the laſt—the laſt act of life—to ſee beauty and eloquence, ſenſe, mouldering away in pain and agony under terrible diſeaſes, and haſtening to the grave with ſundry kinds of death—to witneſs the barren ſilence of him who charmed us with his exuberant fancy and gaiety never to be exhauſted—to gaze upon wrinkles and yellowneſs and incurvations where we remember beautiful forms and ſmiles and ſmoothneſs and the bluſh of health and the bloom of deſire, to ſee——but here I recollect I am not in the pulpit, ſo I ſtop.

Mrs. Stanhope, who is neither crooked nor yellow nor wrinkled, has been ſtaying here for a fortnight.

VIII.

To Lady Holland.[1]

A Winter Salad.

TWO well-boiled potatoes, paſſed through a ſieve; a teaſpoonful of muſtard; two teaſpoonfuls of ſalt; one of eſſence of anchovy; about a quarter of a teaſpoonful of very finely chopped onions, well fringed into the mixture; three tableſpoonfuls of oil; one of vinegar; the yolk of two eggs, hard boiled. Stir up the ſalad immediately before dinner, and ſtir it up thoroughly.

[1] This receipt has been printed ſeveral times, but this proſe verſion was ſent in a letter to Lady Holland, and it forms a part of his correſpondence with her.

N.B. As this ſalad is the reſult of great experience and reflection, it is hoped young ſalad-makers will not attempt to make any improvements upon it.

IX.

To Lord Holland, *c.* 1835.

My dear Lord Holland,

IT is now 34 years ſince I have lived under the ſhadow of Holland Houſe, a ſhadow which is generally conſidered unfavourable to ſacerdotal planets and infected by the Upaz Allen. Perhaps my vanity has induced me to make this connexion more known than there was any neceſſity for—but it *is* known, and I receive frequent applications for introductions to you and to Lady Holland. When I can reſiſt, I do. In two inſtances I have given way—

the Grotes, and Mr. and Mrs. Danſey. The former are really friends of mine, and if you ſhow them any civility I ſhould be obliged of you. The Danſeys are good ſort of people; her father, Mr. Coen, is my near neighbour in the country—merely do as much for them as will ſave my credit. I think this may be effected by a rich infuſion of Bohea accompanied by ſome exceedingly thin and almoſt evaneſcent ſlices of bread and butter. Milady has actually been exhibiting on the rail-road, a ſcene that beggars all deſcription. Allen tried to pray, but was at a loſs to begin; he could think of no other formula than . . . .[1] This could be of no uſe. I am very glad you remain a Proteſtant, though you will be out of faſhion here, as all Proteſtants are turning Catholics.

My love to Lady H.

God bleſs you.

SYDNEY SMITH.

[1] Eraſed.

A VISIT TO PARIS IN 1855.

By Mr. Charles Greville.

A VISIT TO PARIS IN 1855.

By Mr. Charles Greville.

IN June, 1855, Mr. Greville determined to go to Vichy to take the waters. He arrived in Paris on the 17th of that month, and paſſed a few hours at the Embaſſy with Lord Cowley, who was then Ambaſſador at the French Court. It was a critical moment in the Crimean War and the Anglo-French alliance. The French were generally diſſatiſfied with the ſlow progreſs of the campaign, and the negotiations which M. Drouyn de l'Huys had carried on at Vienna had recently failed. That miniſter had reſigned, and was ſucceeded by Count

Walewſki in the Foreign Department. The maintenance of the alliance reſted entirely on the good faith and fairneſs of the Emperor himſelf, who was determined that nothing ſhould interrupt the good underſtanding between the two countries.

It was about this time that the Emperor had formed the deſign of going in perſon to the Crimea, to put himſelf at the head of his army. He was bent upon it, while all the miniſters deprecated it, and did all they could to prevent it. They ſuggeſted that if any misfortune occurred while he was there, he could not quit the army; if any ſucceſs, he would infallibly ſtay to purſue it,—ſo that his ſpeedy return could not be counted upon. This failed to move him. The intention was that Jerome ſhould be (not Regent, but) Chief of the Council

of Miniſters, and they adviſed Jerome only to take the office on condition that he was inveſted with the ſame deſpotic power as the Emperor himſelf. This His Majeſty would not conſent to (as the miniſters foreſaw), and this was the reaſon why the expedition was given up.

Theſe particulars Mr. Greville learned on his arrival in Paris. The expedition to Vichy was a failure. The weather was cold and wet; the place diſpleaſed him; and he returned on the 23rd June to the Embaſſy at Paris. What followed ſhall be related in his own words, which I have extracted from his journals in my poſſeſſion.

HENRY REEVE.

Paris, June 25th, Sunday.

I came here to paſs through to Vichy, and accordingly on Tueſday laſt to Vichy I went. I arrived

there in the evening, found a deteſtable apartment without a fireplace, the weather was intolerable, it never ceaſed raining, and the cold was intenſe. Finding that it was uſeleſs to take the waters or baths in ſuch weather, and being diſguſted with the whole thing, I reſolved to return to Paris, which I did on Friday, and here I am comfortably eſtabliſhed in the Embaſſy again. On my arrival I was greeted with the painful intelligence of the repulſe ſuſtained by the French and Engliſh on the 18th, and of the great loſſes which both armies had ſuffered in the abortive attack on the Redan. This failure has caſt a great gloom over Paris and London, and the diſappointment is the greater becauſe we had become ſo accuſtomed to ſucceſs, that every body regarded failure *in any thing* as impoſſible. Lord Cowley told me the Emperor was exceſſively an-

noyed, and the more ſo, becauſe they entirely diſapproved of Péliſſier's proceedings. Without tying him down or attempting from hence to direct the operations of the campaign, they had given Péliſſier the ſtrongeſt recommendations to abſtain from aſſaults, which they had reaſon to believe would not be deciſive, and would coſt a vaſt number of lives; and they were very anxious the operations againſt the Ruſſians in the field ſhould be preſſed inſtead. There had been ſome half angry communications between the Government and Péliſſier, who had talked of reſigning the command. The opinions of the Government had been principally formed from thoſe of General Niel, who had conſtantly repeated his conviction to the above-mentioned effect, and had earneſtly deprecated theſe aſſaults. Then there is reaſon to apprehend that ſuch unſucceſsful

attempts may produce bad blood and mutual accuſations between the Allied Forces. Already Péliſſier and Raglan have begun to caſt the blame of the failure on each other, though apparently the difference has not yet ſwelled to any ſerious amount. I have always thought it would have been better to have no divided command, but to place an Engliſh Corps under a French Commander-in-Chief, and a French Squadron under an Engliſh Admiral. This was what the Emperor propoſed, and he wrote a letter himſelf on the ſubject, which Cowley promiſed to ſhow me. We have had much converſation about the Emperor, his character and his capacity, and I am puzzled how to underſtand and to do juſtice to the latter. Being ſuch as he is repreſented to be, and having the defects he has, it is difficult to comprehend his having accompliſhed the great

things he has done, and raiſed himſelf to ſuch a ſituation and ſuch a height of perſonal power.

Monday, 26th June.—Laſt night I went to ſee M. Thiers, where I found Mignet, Roger du Nord, and others of his adherents, none of whom I recollected, nor they me. This morning I called on Fould,[1] who told me the Emperor knew I was here, and would like me to be preſented to him, and it was ſettled that this ſhould be done. I am nothing loth, for I have a curioſity to ſee this remarkable man, and to converſe with him. Madame de Lieven told me this morning that not long before the revolution (of '48) Jerome had entreated her to exert her influence to get him made a Peer!

[1] M. Achille Fould was Miniſter of Finance. He was an old acquaintance of Mr. Greville's from his having occaſionally attended the meetings at Newmarket.

Tueſday 27th.—Yeſterday arrived an invitation to dine at the Tuileries the ſame evening. I went there, was uſhered into a room with eight or ten men in it, none of whom I knew (except Count Bacciochi, whom I had met at Fould's the day before), three in uniform, the reſt in plain clothes. A man whom I ſuppoſe to be the aide de camp de ſervice came forward to receive me, and invited me to ſit down. Preſently the ſame or another man came and ſaid, "Milord" (they all milorded me), "vous "vous mettrez à table, ſ'il vous plait, "à côté de l'Empereur à ſa droite." I was then taken into the next room, which adjoins the cabinet of the Emperor. In a few minutes His Majeſty made his appearance. He immediately came up to me, bowed very civilly, and aſked me the uſual queſtions of when I came to Paris, &c. In a minute dinner was announced,

and we went in. As we walked in, he ſaid to me, "L'Impératrice ſera "bien fachée de ne vous avoir pas vu." At dinner, which did not laſt above twenty-five minutes, he talked (a ſort of dropping converſation) on different ſubjects, and I found him ſo eaſy to get on with, that I ventured to ſtart topics myſelf. After dinner we returned to the room we had left, and after coffee, ſeeing me ſtaring about me at the pictures (portraits), he ſaid all his family were there, and he told me who they all were and the hiſtory of theſe portraits, which he ſaid had made the tour of the world. After this, he aſked me to ſit down, which I did at a round table by his ſide, and M. Viſconti on the other ſide of me, and then we had a converſation which laſted at leaſt an hour and a half on every imaginable ſubject. It was impoſſible not to be ſtruck with his ſimplicity, his being

ſo natural, and totally without any air or aſſumption of greatneſs, though not undignified, but perfectly *comme il faut*, with excellent manners and eaſy pleaſant fluent converſation. I was ſtruck with his air of truth and frankneſs, and though of courſe I could not expect in my poſition and at this firſt interview with him, that he ſhould be particularly expanſive, yet he gave me the idea of being not only not reſerved, but as if when intimate he would have a great deal of *abandon*. It was difficult to bring away all the ſubjects he diſcuſſed, and I do not know that he ſaid anything wonderfully ſtriking, but he made a very favourable impreſſion on me, and made me wiſh to know more of him, which I am never likely to do. He talked of the war and its conduct, of the faults committed, and of the characters and talents of the generals engaged, comparing them (much to

their diſadvantage) with the generals of the Empire. I aſked him which were the beſt, and he ſaid all the African generals were much of the ſame calibre—Changarnier, Lamoricière, St. Arnaud, Canrobert, Péliſſier—very little difference between them. The war they urged in Africa was of a peculiar character, and did not render them more capable of conducting great ſtrategical operations in Europe; he talked of Thiers and Odilon Barrot, and deſcribed ſcenes with the latter in Council when Odilon was his Miniſter; of the "Times" and its influence; of Spain; in ſhort, of a vaſt variety of ſubjects; of the exhibition here, and with ſome appearance of diſappointment that the people will not go to it. His ſimplicity and abſence of all *faſte* were remarkable, *e. g.*, I aſked him what he thought of the Hango affair, when he ſaid it was not ſo bad as

had been reported; "I have had an "account of it from Admiral Pénaud "to-day; ſhould you like to ſee it?" I ſaid "Yes;" when he got up, went into his cabinet, and came back with the letter in his hand; and a little while after, when we were talking of the ſiege of Sebaſtopol, he aſked me if I had ever ſeen a very good engineer's map of the whole thing, and when I ſaid I had not, he ſaid, "Then "I will ſhow you one," and he again went into the cabinet, and brought it out. After this long palaver he took leave of me, ſhaking hands with much apparent cordiality.

Thurſday.—Boſquet has written to the Emperor that theſe aſſaults on the Ruſſian works are only a uſeleſs waſte of life. Vaillant has told Lord Cowley that they agree in this, but they muſt either recall their general or let him go on in his own way, and if they interfere, the blame of

any diſaſter will inevitably fall on them, no matter what might be the cauſe.

I dined with M. de Flahault yeſterday; in the morning rode round all the boulevards, a grand promenade by which Paris is well ſeen; met M. Guizot at Madame de Lieven's, who talked of the war, and aſked how it was ever to end? "People go to war," he ſaid, "to "make conqueſts or to make peace; "you profeſs not to intend the firſt, "how do you propoſe to effect the "ſecond? By reducing Ruſſia to "accept your terms? can you do "ſo? Will ſhe yield? If not, "what then? you may wound her, "but you can't ſtrike her in a "vital part, and the more barbarous "ſhe is, the more ſhe will conſent "to ſuffer, and the leſs ſhe will "be diſpoſed to yield." He gave me an account (in ſhort) of the

bother about the Academy, and the Emperor's interference. *They* don't mean to give way, but they think he will. If he does not, he will have to diſſolve them.

Friday.—Yeſterday I went to the exhibition in the morning; then to Notre Dame and the Luxembourg Gardens, and drove about Paris; dined *en trio* with Madame de Lieven and Guizot; nothing of courſe but political talk. Guizot thinks there has been not only a ſeries of diplomatic blunders, but a wonderful want of *invention* not to ſtrike out ſome means of adjuſting this quarrel, in which I agree with him. This morning Labouchere[1] and I went to Verſailles. Fould had given me a letter to the Director of the Muſeum there, M. Soulié (I think his name is), whom we found very intelligent, well-informed, and obliging. We

[1] The late Lord Taunton.

told him our object was to avoid the "*giro regolare*" of the endleſs rooms fitted up with bad pictures by Louis Philippe, and to ſee the apartments full of hiſtorical aſſociations from the time of Louis XIV. down to the Revolution. We were completely gratified, and he took us over everything we wiſhed to ſee, being admirably qualified as a cicerone by his familiarity with the localities and the hiſtory belonging to them. We ſaw all the apartments in which Louis XIV. lived, and what remains of thoſe of Madame de Maintenon. The Palace has been ſo tumbled about at different times, and ſuch alterations made in it, that it is not always eaſy to aſcertain correctly where the rooms of certain perſonages were, but our guide proved to our complete ſatisfaction that certain rooms he ſhowed us were thoſe which did really belong

to Madame de Maintenon. We ſaw too in minute detail the apartments of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette, and the paſſages through which ſhe fled to eſcape from the irruption of the mob on the 5th October. The whole thing was as intereſting as poſſible.

9th July.—I meant to have left Paris laſt night, but an invitation arriving to dine with the Emperor at St. Cloud to-day, I put off going till to-morrow. Went yeſterday to Verſailles to ſee the "Grandes "Eaux," and was diſappointed; dined then with the Aſhburtons. This morning telegraphic news came of a Ruſſian ſortie laſt night, no details of courſe.

Tueſday, 10*th*.—Dined at Villeneuve l'Etang. We went to the Palace of St. Cloud in Cowley's carriage, where we found an equerry and one of the Emperor's carriages,

which took us to Villeneuve. A ſmall houſe, pretty and comfortable enough, and a ſmall party, all Engliſh—Duke and Ducheſs of Hamilton, Lord Hertford, Lord and Lady Aſhburton, General Torrens and his aide de camp, Lord Cowley and myſelf; The Duc de Baſſano, Count de Montebello, the aide de camp de ſervice, and M. Valabrègue, écuyer; that was the whole party. The Emperor ſat between the two ladies, taking the Ducheſs in to dinner. It laſted about three-quarters of an hour, and as ſoon as it was over, His Majeſty took us all out to walk about the place, ſee the dairy and a beautiful Bretonne cow he ordered to be brought out, and then to ſcull on the lake or "Etang," which gives its name to the place. There were a number of little boats for one perſon to ſcull and one to ſit, and one larger boat for two each.

The Emperor got into one with the Ducheſs, and all the reſt of the people as they liked, and we paſſed about half an hour on the water. On landing, ices, &c., were brought, and the carriages came to the door at nine o'clock, a char-à-banc with four percherons and poſtillons exactly like the old French poſt-boy, and ſeveral other open carriages and pair. The two ladies got into the centre of the char-à-banc; Cowley, Hertford and I were invited to get up before, and the Emperor himſelf got up behind with ſomebody elſe, I did not ſee who. We then ſet off, and drove for ſome time through the woods and drives of Villeneuve and St. Cloud, and at laſt, at about ten o'clock, we were ſet down at the palace. There we all alighted, and, after walking about a little, the Emperor ſhowing us the part which Marie Antoinette had built, and telling ſome anecdotes

connected with Louis XVIII. and Louis Philippe and the Château, he ſhook hands with all of us very cordially and diſmiſſed us. His Majeſty got into the char-à-banc and returned to Villeneuve, and we drove back to Paris. When we were walking about the court of the Château (it was quite dark), the ſentinel challenged us, "Qui va là?" when the Emperor called out in a loud voice, "L'Empereur." Of courſe in this company there was nothing but general converſation, and I had no opportunity of having any with His Majeſty, but he was extremely civil, offering me his cigars, which I declined, and expreſſing anxiety that I ſhould not catch cold. He made the ſame impreſſion on me as before as to his extreme ſimplicity and the eaſineſs of his intercourſe, but I was ſtruck with his appearance being ſo very "meſquin," more than I thought at firſt.

VALEDICTORY.

VALEDICTORY.

IN the compoſition of this volume I have laboured under two difficulties, the decline of my own literary faculty, and the diminution of the aſſiſtance of my colleagues, which has reſulted in making it nearly altogether my own work. This was not the caſe with our former volumes. I contributed to them materials of a mixed character, and ſuch editorial ſkill as my literary habits enabled me to ſupply. I believe theſe miſcellanies are a valuable addition to our hiſtorical and bibliographical literature, and I ſhall be glad if they remain connected with my name and that of our Society. Neverthe-

leſs, the judicious concluſion of its exiſtence may be as opportune as was its foundation, and I have come to the concluſion that there are no preſent materials for its profitable continuance. The occaſions of a more oſtenſible publication and wider circulation are within the reach of all our contributors, and the very privacy which at one time was an attraction has aſſumed the character of a reſtriction. A collector may prize a rare book as much as ever, but he would rather be known as the author of a popular one. The hiſtorical wealth of our great libraries is in proceſs of general diſtribution through numerous and ready channels of editorial ability. Nor can I think that the proſpect of our ſocial opportunities is more favourable. We have lately loſt the young and promiſing Preſident who might have ſummoned us to his Royal

bowers, and we have not added to the number of noble and wealthy entertainers. We have loſt the privilege of the inſpection of Mr. Huth's fine library, and have not attracted the poſſeſſors of any important recent collections, if ſuch there be. Theſe loſſes may, and I believe, do imply a regrettable diminution of the literary energies and taſtes of Engliſh ſocial life, but if this be ſo, I do not ſee any ſufficient inherent force in our Society as at preſent conſtituted, to remedy the injury, or arreſt the decline. Our eſtimable rival, the Roxburgh Society, is making a laudable effort of revival, to which we offer our beſt hopes and congratulations.

It is not without perſonal emotion that I diſſociate myſelf from this good company, with which I have worked and talked for over thirty years. I would deſire eſpecially to

record three names with which I have been aſſociated as honorary Secretaries during this period. Sylvain Van de Weyer, whoſe courageous and judicious participation in his country's felicitous revolution and the eſtabliſhment of its honeſt dynaſty, was duly rewarded during his lifetime, and has been commemorated by a public monument after his death. He paſſed a happy and honoured life in this country, beloved alike by court and society, and has left among us a reſpected and highly-connected name. William Stirling-Maxwell, whoſe works will hold their place in our literature as the reſults of a ſincere hiſtorical ſpirit, united with fine artiſtic tastes and preciſe antiquarian accuracy, and the greater part of which, privately printed and illuſtrated at his own coſt, he liberally diſtributed among his perſonal friends

in the Society.[1] And Matthew Higgins, the gentle giant, who, under the ſobriquet of "Jacob Omnium," was one of the cleareſt and wittieſt writers on the ſubjects of his time. For the completion of our record, I have added to the liſt of our members the names of thoſe who have already paſſed away; and now I have only to offer to the ſurvivors the beſt wiſhes of this happy ſeaſon.

Solvite ſeneſcentem: valete, et me amate.

HOUGHTON.

Fryſton Hall,
Chriſtmas Day, 1884.

[1] "The Life of Don John of Auſtria," poſthumouſly printed by the executors of Sir William Stirling-Maxwell, it was hoped might have been preſented to the poſſeſſors of his former works. But the eſtate having been placed in Chancery, legal difficulties occurred, which the executors did not think themſelves able to ſurmount.